नया जीवन

भाग 2

कक्षा सात के लिए हिंदी की पूरक पाठ्यपुस्तक

अनिरुद्ध राय

राष्ट्रीय शैक्षिक अनुसंधान और प्रशिक्षण परिषद्
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND TRAINING

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सर्वाधिकार सुरक्षित

- ❑ प्रकाशक की पूर्व अनुमति के बिना इस प्रकाशन के किसी भाग को छापना तथा इलेक्ट्रॉनिकी, मशीनी, फोटोप्रतिलिपि रिकॉर्डिंग अथवा किसी अन्य विधि से पुन प्रयोग पद्धति द्वारा उसका संग्रहण अथवा प्रसारण वर्जित है।
- ❑ इस पुस्तक कि बिक्री इस शर्त के साथ की गई है कि प्रकाशक की पूर्व अनुमति के बिना यह पुस्तक अपने मूल आवरण अथवा जिल्द के अलावा किसी अन्य प्रकार से व्यापार द्वारा उधारी पर, पुनर्विक्रय या किराए पर न दी जाएगी, न बेची जाएगी।
- ❑ इस प्रकाशन का सही मूल्य इस पृष्ठ पर मुद्रित है। रबड़ की मुहर अथवा चिपकाई गई पर्ची (स्टिकर) या किसी अन्य विधि द्वारा अंकित कोई भी संशोधित मूल्य गलत है तथा मान्य नहीं होगा।

एन.सी.ई.आर.टी के प्रकाशन विभाग के कार्यालय

एन.सी.ई.आर.टी. कैम्पस	108, 100 फीट रोड, होस्डेकेरे	नवजीवन ट्रस्ट भवन	सी.डब्लू.सी. कैम्पस
श्री अरविंद मार्ग	हेली एक्सटेंशन बनाशंकरी III इस्टेज	डाकघर नवजीवन	32, बी.टी. रोड, सुखचर
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प्रकाशन विभाग मे सचिव, राष्ट्रीय शैक्षिक अनुसंधान और प्रशिक्षण परिषद्, श्री अरविन्द मार्ग, नई दिल्ली 110 016 द्वारा प्रकाशित तथा प्रभात पब्लिसिटी, दरिया गंज, नई दिल्ली 110 002 द्वारा मुद्रित।

प्राक्कथन

राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा नीति (1986) के लागू होने के साथ ही ऐसी शिक्षण सामग्री की आवश्यकता का अनुभव किया जाने लगा जो इस नई शिक्षा नीति के उद्देश्यों की प्राप्ति में सहायक हो। इस नीति के अनुसार शिक्षा बाल केंद्रित होगी और बच्चों के सर्वांगीण विकास पर ध्यान दिया जाएगा। इस उद्देश्य पूर्ति की दृष्टि से शिक्षाक्रम में कुछ ऐसे विषयों के समावेश पर बल दिया गया है जिनसे शिक्षार्थियों में प्रगतिशील सामाजिक और राष्ट्रीय चेतना तथा उदात्त जीवनमूल्यों के प्रति स्वस्थ अभिवृत्ति का विकास हो सके। ये विषय हैं–राष्ट्रीय स्वतंत्रता संग्राम का इतिहास, हमारी सांस्कृतिक विरासत, लोकतांत्रिकता, धर्म-निरपेक्षता, सामाजिक न्याय, समतामूलक समाज, नर-नारी समानता, वैज्ञानिक दृष्टिकोण आदि। इन विषयों को 'केंद्रिक शिक्षाक्रम' कहा गया है। इन विषयों के समावेश से भारत के राष्ट्रीय जीवन के लिए महत्त्वपूर्ण योगदान मिलने की पूरी संभावनाएँ हैं।

उपर्युक्त केंद्रिक शिक्षाक्रम के संदर्भ में विभाग ने उच्च प्राथमिक स्तर (कक्षा 6, 7, 8) पर हिंदी शिक्षण से संबंधित पूर्व-निर्धारित पूरक पुस्तकों पर नए सिरे से विचार करने और तदनुकूल पूरक पुस्तकों का निर्माण करने की योजना का संकल्प किया। पूर्व निर्धारित पुस्तकें थीं :

कक्षा 6 – संक्षिप्त रामायण

कक्षा 7 – (1) संक्षिप्त महाभारत (2) नया जीवन

कक्षा 8 – (1) जीवन और विज्ञान (4) त्रिविधा

इन पर विचार करने के लिए एक विभागीय समिति गठित हुई। उसके बाद इस समिति

द्वारा प्रस्तुत संस्तुतियों पर विचार करने के लिए भाषा विशेषज्ञों की एक विचारगोष्ठी आयोजित की गई। इस कार्यगोष्ठी में विभागीय समिति के सदस्य, विभागाध्यक्ष तथा विषय विशेषज्ञ समिति के सदस्यों ने भाग लिया। इस विचारगोष्ठी में निर्णय लिया गया कि:

1. कक्षा 6 में सांस्कृतिक विरासत और राष्ट्रीय एकता की दृष्टि से पूर्व निर्धारित 'संक्षिप्त रामायण' के महत्त्व को देखते हुए यथावत रखा जाए, पर उसका पुनरीक्षण और उसमें यथोचित संशोधन अवश्य कर लिया जाए।
2. कक्षा 7 में भी पूर्व निर्धारित 'संक्षिप्त महाभारत' को यथावत रखा जाए क्योंकि सांस्कृतिक विरासत और नैतिक जीवन मूल्यों की दृष्टि से उसे सर्वथा उपयुक्त समझा गया, पर इसके भी पुनरीक्षण और यथोचित संशोधन का सुझाव दिया गया।
3. कक्षा 8 में रामायण और महाभारत की ही भाँति किसी ऐसे प्रसिद्ध प्रबंधात्मक काव्य को रखने का सुझाव प्रस्तुत किया गया जिससे भारत की गौरवमयी संस्कृति का परिचय छात्रों को मिले। इस दृष्टि से महाकवि अश्वघोष के 'बुद्धचरित' को उपयुक्त समझा गया। निश्चय किया गया कि रामायण और महाभारत के समान ही इस ग्रंथ का भी सहज, सरल और रोचक हिंदी भाषा में संक्षिप्त संस्करण तैयार किया जाए।
4. कक्षा 8 में पूर्व निर्धारित 'जीवन और विज्ञान' तथा 'त्रिविधा' को हटाने का निर्णय लिया गया और यह सुझाव रखा गया कि कक्षा 6, 7, 8 में क्रमशः 'रामायण', 'महाभारत' और 'बुद्धचरित' के साथ-साथ एक-एक पूरक पुस्तक और रखी जाए। इन पूरक पुस्तकों में हिंदी के अतिरिक्त भारत की हिंदीतर भाषाओं तथा कुछ विदेशी भाषाओं से भी ऐसी रचनाएँ शामिल की जाएँ जो आधुनिक राष्ट्रीय संदर्भों से जुड़ी हों तथा छात्रों में व्यापक मानवीय और वैज्ञानिक दृष्टिकोण के विकास में सहायक और प्रेरणादायी सिद्ध हों।

   इन रचनाओं में केंद्रिक शिक्षाक्रम से संबंधित कहानी, जीवनी, एकांकी, आत्मकथा, संस्मरण, घटनाओं आदि का चयन किया जा सकता है।

भारत की हिंदीतर भाषाओं से उपर्युक्त प्रकार की रचनाओं के शामिल करने का मुख्य उद्देश्य यह है कि इनके द्वारा हिंदी में अखिल भारतीय साहित्य की छवि उजागर हो।

उपर्युक्त योजना के अंतर्गत कक्षा 7 के लिए पूरक पुस्तक के रूप में 'संक्षिप्त महाभारत'

का संशोधित संस्करण तैयार किया गया है। इसके अतिरिक्त दूसरी पाठ्यपुस्तक 'नया जीवन' भाग 2 का प्रणयन भी किया गया है। इसमें हिंदी के अतिरिक्त कन्नड़, कश्मीरी, तमिल, बँगला, मलयालम, सिंधी, अंग्रेज़ी साहित्य की कई विधाओं (हिंदी में अनूदित) को रखा गया है, जो आज के सामाजिक और राष्ट्रीय जीवन की समस्याओं और जीवनमूल्यों से जुड़ी हुई हैं, यथा :

राजा की प्रजावत्सलता तथा न्यायपूर्ण राज (राजधर्म), विदेशी सरकार के अन्यायपूर्ण दमन का विरोध और राष्ट्रीय सम्मान (सर की उपाधि लौटादी), सरल और सादा जीवन, सामाजिक सुधार और राष्ट्रीय स्वातंत्र्य प्रेम (स्मृतियों के पन्नों से), भारत के विभाजन के कारण उत्पन्न दुखद स्थितियाँ तथा अभावों में पलने वाले जीवन का चित्रण (पिस्ते-बादाम), व्यंग्यात्मक शैली में झूठी शान और मिथ्या प्रदर्शन का उपहास (जब मैंने नेकटाई बाँधी), ज्ञान-विज्ञान की खोज और मानव कल्याण के लिए उत्सर्ग (पीढ़ी-दर-पीढ़ी), शिक्षा और खेल से वंचित बाल श्रमिक की व्यथा (बंधन का पंछी), सभी के सुख-दुख में सहभागिता, जीव-जंतुओं के प्रति प्रेम-दया तथा दूसरे की उन्नति के लिए स्वयं कष्ट सहन (बुआ जी), भारतीय धर्मों के प्रति श्रीलंकावासियों की अटूट आस्था (श्रीलंका की यात्रा), अंग्रेज़ी शासन के प्रति विद्रोह की भावना, देशप्रेम और निर्भीकता (खिलाफ़त आंदोलन: कराची का ऐतिहासिक मुकदमा), ब्रिटिश कालीन भारतीय राजनीतिक और सामाजिक दुर्व्यवस्था तथा शासकों के विवेकहीन आचरण का व्यंग्यात्मक शैली में चित्रण (अंधेर नगरी), वाह्याचार से बचकर धन का उपयोग, दीन-दुखियों की सेवा के लिए धर्म की सही व्याख्या (स्वामी विवेकानंद का पत्र), विनोदात्मक शैली में एक काल्पनिक वैज्ञानिक प्रयोग (पाइक्राफ़्ट का मोटापा)।

इन रचनाओं से निश्चित ही हिंदी भाषा का वह रूप सामने आएगा जिसमें अखिल भारतीय जीवन की छवि प्रतिभासित होगी।

इस पुस्तक का निर्माण सामाजिक विज्ञान तथा मानविकी शिक्षा विभाग में उच्च प्राथमिक स्तर के लिए हिंदी पाठ्यपुस्तक निर्माण योजना से संबंधित डॉ. अनिरुद्ध राय ने किया है। इसके लिए मैं उनके प्रति कृतज्ञता ज्ञापित करता हूँ।

प्रस्तुत पुस्तक के निर्माण में हमें अनेक विद्वानों, लेखकों तथा भाषाशास्त्रियों का

सहयोग मिला है। इसके लिए मैं उन्हें हृदय से धन्यवाद देता हूँ। जिन लेखकों और अनुवादकों ने अपनी रचनाएँ इस पुस्तक में सम्मिलित करने की अनुमति हमें दी है, उनके प्रति हम विशेष रूप से कृतज्ञ हैं।

मुझे विश्वास है कि बच्चों के भावात्मक विकास और चरित्र-निर्माण में यह पुस्तक उपादेय सिद्ध होगी। इसके परिष्कार की दृष्टि से सुधी विद्वानों के सुझावों का हम सदा स्वागत करेंगे।

अशोक कुमार शर्मा
निदेशक
राष्ट्रीय शैक्षिक अनुसंधान और प्रशिक्षण परिषद्

नई दिल्ली
मार्च 1998

आभार

इस पुस्तक के निर्माण में कृपापूर्ण योगदान के लिए राष्ट्रीय शैक्षिक अनुसंधान और प्रशिक्षण परिषद् निम्नलिखित विद्वानों के प्रति कृतज्ञता ज्ञापित करती है :

श्री निरंजन कुमार सिंह, प्रोफ़ेसर माणिक गोविंद चतुर्वेदी, डॉ. आनंद प्रकाश व्यास, श्री लीलाधर शर्मा 'पर्वतीय', डॉ. बाल सुब्रह्मण्यम, डॉ. कृष्ण कुमार गोस्वामी, डॉ. मानसिंह वर्मा, डॉ. श्याम बिहारी राय, डॉ. पीतांबर ठाकवानी, श्री प्रभाकर द्विवेदी, कुमारी इंद्रा सक्सेना, डॉ. (श्रीमती) सुधा सक्सेना, कुमारी विमला उप्रेती, श्री बी. एन. सिंह और श्री जमुना राय।

गांधी जी का जन्तर

तुम्हें एक जन्तर देता हूं। जब भी तुम्हें सन्देह हो या तुम्हारा अहम् तुम पर हावी होने लगे, तो यह कसौटी आजमाओ:

जो सबसे गरीब और कमजोर आदमी तुमने देखा हो, उसकी शकल याद करो और अपने दिल से पूछो कि जो कदम उठाने का तुम विचार कर रहे हो, वह उस आदमी के लिए कितना उपयोगी होगा। क्या उससे उसे कुछ लाभ पहुंचेगा? क्या उससे वह अपने ही जीवन और भाग्य पर कुछ काबू रख सकेगा? यानि क्या उससे उन करोड़ों लोगों को स्वराज्य मिल सकेगा जिनके पेट भूखे हैं और आत्मा अतृप्त है?

तब तुम देखोगे कि तुम्हारा सन्देह मिट रहा है और अहम् समाप्त होता जा रहा है।

मो गांधी

पाठ-सूची

1. राजधर्म

(जातक कथाओं में महात्मा बुद्ध के पूर्वजन्म की घटनाएँ कहानी के रूप में वर्णित हैं। इन कथाओं में महात्मा बुद्ध को बोधिसत्व के रूप में संबोधित किया गया है। बोधिसत्व का अर्थ है वह व्यक्ति जो बुद्धत्व (अध्यात्म ज्ञान) प्राप्त करने का अधिकारी हो, पर अभी बुद्ध नहीं हो पाया हो। कहा जाता है कि वे 'गौतम बुद्ध' के रूप में प्रकट होने के पहले लगभग 550 बार विभिन्न योनियों में जन्म लेकर लोकोपकार का कार्य कर चुके थे। बोधिसत्व द्वारा मनुष्य जीवन को उदात्त बनाने के लिए उत्तम आचार-विचार, नीति और धर्म की बातें इन कथाओं में कही गई हैं।)

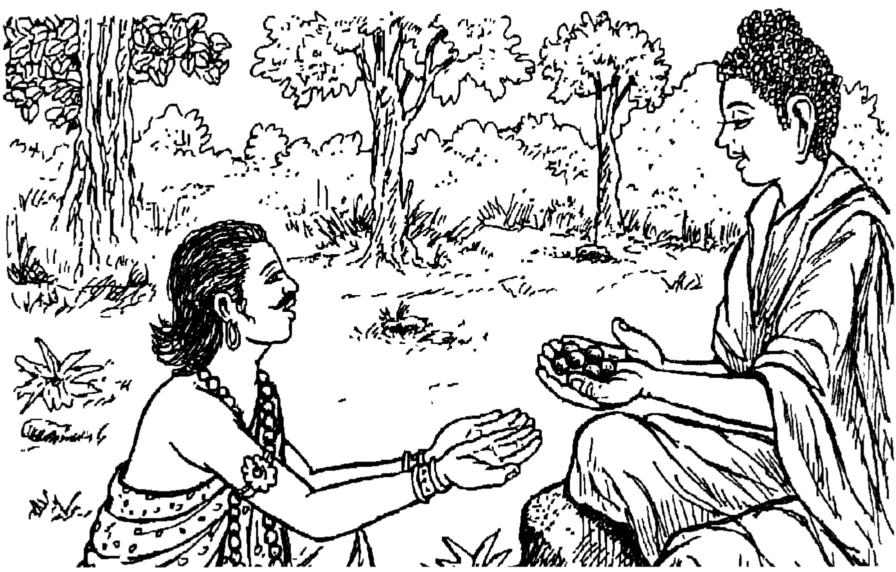
अति प्राचीन काल में वाराणसी में ब्रह्मदत्त नाम का राजा राज करता था, जो अपनी धर्मप्रियता और न्याय परायण शासन के लिए प्रसिद्ध था। उसके शासनकाल में बोधिसत्व (बुद्ध) एक ब्राह्मण कुल में पैदा हुए थे। कुछ बड़े होने पर उन्होंने अनेक शिल्पों का ज्ञान प्राप्त किया। फिर ऋषि-प्रवज्या धारण कर वे रमणीय हिमालय प्रदेश में चले गए और कंद-मूल-फल आदि का सेवन करते हुए तपस्या में लीन रहने लगे।

ब्रह्मदत्त विवेकशील राजा था। वह सत्-असत्, उचित-अनुचित का सदा ध्यान रखता था। वह ऐसे व्यक्ति को ढूँढ़ता था, जो उसके दोषों को बता सके।

प्रशंसा करने वाले तो सभी थे, दोष बतानेवाला कोई नहीं मिलता था। अंतःपुर, राजदरबार, नगर, नगर के बाहर सभी जगह लोग राजा के गुणों का बखान करते थे, पर उसके अवगुण बतानेवाला कोई नहीं था।

राजा ने सोचा कि जनपद में कोई ऐसा व्यक्ति मिल जाए, जो उसके दोष बता सके। अतः भेस बदलकर वह पूरे जनपद में घूमा, पर वहाँ भी उसे अपना गुण ही सुनने को मिला, दोष नहीं। फिर वह घूमता हुआ हिमालय प्रदेश पहुँचा। घने जंगलों और दुर्गम पर्वतों को पार करता हुआ वह सुरम्य हिमालय प्रदेश में स्थित बोधिसत्व के आश्रम पर जा पहुँचा। उसने उन्हें श्रद्धापूर्वक प्रणाम किया। बोधिसत्व ने राजा का कुशल-क्षेम पूछा। फिर आश्रम में राजा एक ओर चुपचाप बैठ गया।

बोधिसत्व जंगल से पके गोदे लाकर खाते थे। वे गोदे शक्तिवर्द्धक और शक्कर के समान मीठे थे। उन्होंने राजा को संबोधित कर कहा, "महापुण्य, ये



गोदे खाकर पानी पीओ।" राजा ने गोदे खाए और पानी पीया। उसे गोदे बड़े ही मधुर और स्वादिष्ट लगे। उसने बोधिसत्व से पूछा, "भंते, क्या बात है, ये गोदे बड़े ही मीठे और स्वादिष्ट हैं?"

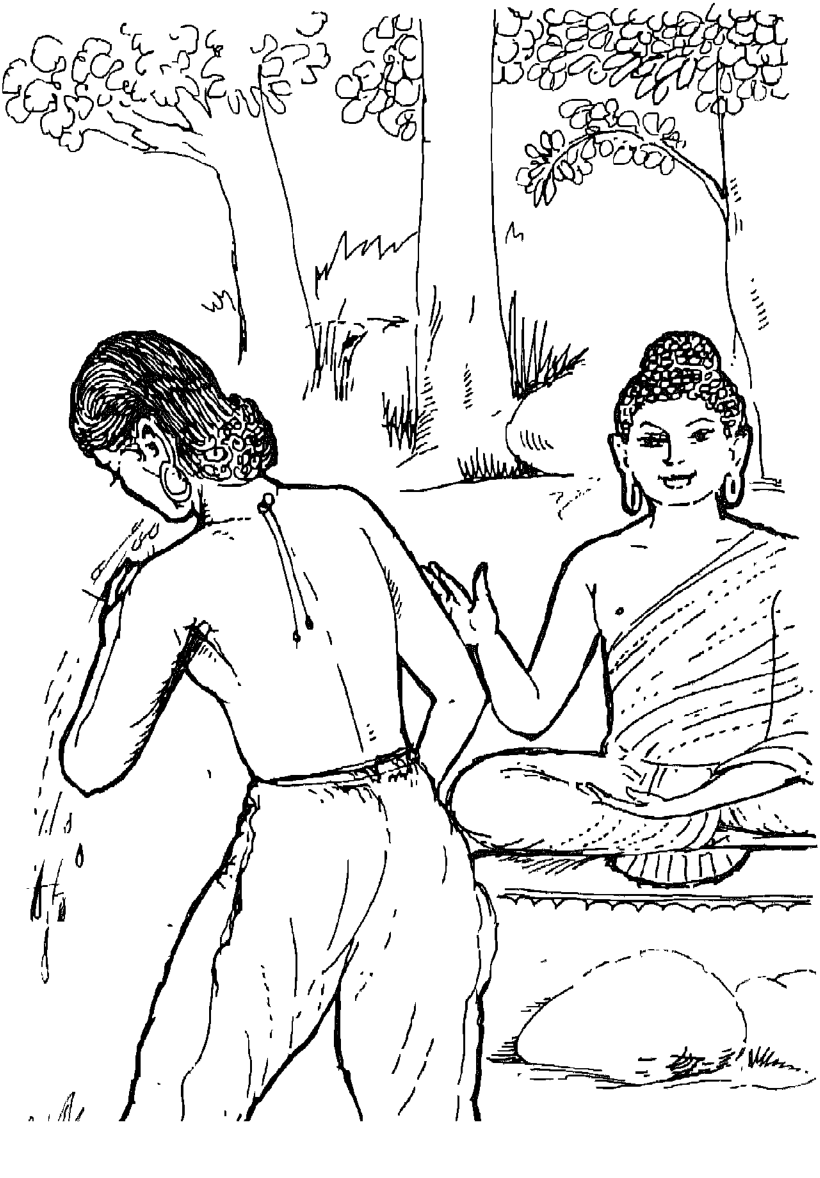
"महापुण्य, राजा निश्चय ही धर्मानुसार और न्यायपूर्वक राज करता है, उसी से ये इतने मीठे हैं। राजा के अधार्मिक और अन्यायी होने पर तेल, मधु, शक्कर आदि तथा जंगल के फल-फूल सभी कड़वे और स्वादहीन हो जाते हैं। केवल यही नहीं सारा राष्ट्र ओज-रहित हो जाता है, दूषित हो जाता है। राजा के धार्मिक और न्याय-प्रिय होने पर सभी वस्तुएँ मधुर और शक्तिवर्द्धक होती हैं और सारा राष्ट्र शक्तिशाली तथा ओजस्वी बना रहता है।"

"भंते, ऐसा होता होगा", यह कहकर राजा अपना परिचय दिए बिना ही बोधिसत्व को प्रणाम कर अपनी राजधानी लौट आया। उसने सोचा, तपस्वी बोधिसत्व के कथन की परीक्षा करूँगा। अधर्म और अन्याय से राज करूँगा और देखूँगा कि बोधिसत्व की बात में कितनी सच्चाई है। राजा ने ऐसा ही किया। कुछ समय बीत जाने पर वह फिर बोधिसत्व के आश्रम में पहुँचा और उन्हें प्रणाम कर एक ओर बैठ गया।

बोधिसत्व ने फिर पके गोदे दिए। राजा को वे गोदे बड़े ही कड़वे लगे। राजा ने गोदे थूक दिए और कहा, "भंते, ये बड़े कड़वे हैं।"

"महापुण्य, राजा अवश्य अधार्मिक और अन्यायी होगा। राजा के अधार्मिक और अन्यायी होने पर जंगल के फल-फूल तथा सभी वस्तुएँ नीरस और कड़वी हो जाती हैं, स्वाद रहित हो जाती हैं, यही नहीं सारा राष्ट्र ओज-रहित हो जाता है।"

राजा के और जिज्ञासा करने पर बोधिसत्व ने कहा, "गायों के नदी तैरते समय साँड (नेता) यदि टेढ़ा जाता है तो नेता के टेढ़े जाने के कारण सभी गाएँ



टेढ़ी जाती हैं और मार्ग से भटक जाती हैं। इसी प्रकार मनुष्यों में भी जो श्रेष्ठ होता है, वह नेता माना जाता है। यदि वह टेढ़े मार्ग से जाता है, अधर्म करता है तो सारी प्रजा कुमार्ग पर चलती है और अधर्म करने लगती है। राजा ही नेता होता है। राजा के धर्म-विमुख होने पर सारा राज्य दुख को प्राप्त होता है। गायों के नदी पार करते समय यदि साँड (नेता) सीधा जाता है, तो नेता के सीधा जाने के कारण सभी गाएँ सीधी जाती हैं और नदी पार कर जाती हैं। इसी प्रकार मनुष्यों में जो श्रेष्ठ माना जाता है, वही नेता माना जाता है। यदि वह धर्म का अनुसरण करता है, तो शेष प्रजा भी धर्म का मार्ग अपनाती है। राजा के धार्मिक होने पर सारा राष्ट्र सुख को प्राप्त करता है।"

बोधिसत्व से यह शिक्षा प्राप्त कर राजा ने अपना राजा होना प्रकट किया और विनयपूर्वक बोला, "भंते, मैंने ही पहले गोदों को मीठा कर फिर कड़वा किया। अब फिर उन्हें मीठा करूँगा और कभी उन्हें कड़वा नहीं होने दूँगा। यही मेरा संकल्प और व्रत है।"

बोधिसत्व को प्रणाम कर वह राजधानी लौट आया और धर्म और न्यायपूर्वक राज करने लगा। उसका राज्य फिर धन-धान्य से भर गया।

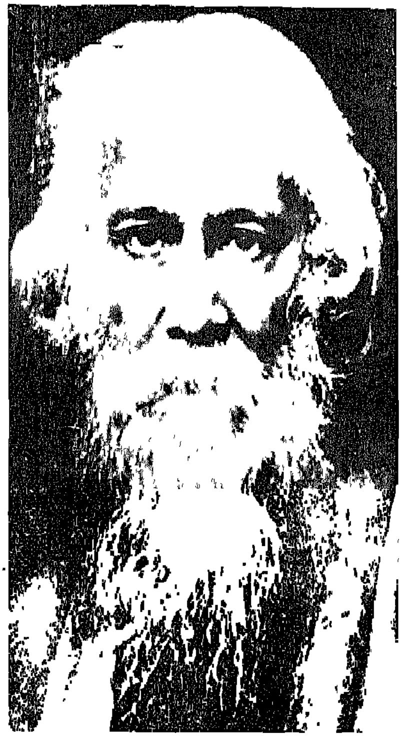
—जातक कथा से

प्रश्न

1. राजा ब्रह्मदत्त के भेस बदलकर घूमने का क्या कारण था?
2. बोधिसत्व ने राजा को गोदों के बहुत मीठे और स्वादिष्ट होने का क्या कारण बताया?
3. राजा ने बोधिसत्व के कथन की परीक्षा किस प्रकार ली?
4. "नेता के धर्म-विमुख होने पर सारा राज्य दुख को प्राप्त होता है"–कथन का आशय समझाइए।



2. 'सर' की उपाधि लौटा दी



रवींद्रनाथ ठाकुर एशिया के पहले लेखक थे जिन्हें साहित्य के लिए नोबल पुरस्कार मिला था। ब्रिटिश सरकार ने भी उन्हें 'सर' की उपाधि से सम्मानित किया था।

हमारे देश के जीवन में एक ऐसा समय आया जब राष्ट्रीय आंदोलन ने एक जन-आंदोलन का रूप ले लिया। स्वतंत्रता के लिए संघर्ष ने ज़ोर पकड़ा और उसे कुचलने के लिए विदेशी शासन द्वारा दमन-चक्र भी तेज़ हुआ। इस संघर्ष और दमन के काल में विदेशी शासन द्वारा दी गई 'सम्मान की उपाधियाँ' राष्ट्रीय अपमान का प्रतीक समझी जाने लगीं। अनेक भारतीयों ने ऐसी उपाधियाँ लौटा दीं।

रवींद्रनाथ ठाकुर उनमें से एक थे। उन्होंने जलियाँवाला बाग के हत्याकांड के विरोध में ब्रिटिश सरकार द्वारा दी गई 'सर' की उपाधि लौटा दी। इसे लौटाते समय उन्होंने तत्कालीन ब्रिटिश गवर्नर जनरल को एक पत्र लिखा जो हमारे राष्ट्रीय आंदोलन का एक महत्त्वपूर्ण दस्तावेज़ है।

जलियाँवाला बाग का हत्याकांड हमारे राष्ट्रीय आंदोलन के इतिहास की एक दुखद घटना है। प्रथम विश्वयुद्ध के बाद भारत का राष्ट्रीय आंदोलन एक नए मोड़ पर पहुँच गया था। दूसरी ओर विदेशी शासकों ने एक 'रौलट एक्ट' नाम का नया कानून बना कर इस जन-आंदोलन को कुचलने के लिए पहले से भी अधिक निरंकुश नीति अपनाई। इस नए कानून को भारतवासियों ने 'काला-कानून' कहा। इसके विरुद्ध देश भर में गांधी जी के नेतृत्व में सत्याग्रह शुरू किया गया। इसी समय सरकार ने अमृतसर में दो राष्ट्रीय नेताओं डॉ. सत्यपाल और डॉ. सैफुद्दीन किचलू को गिरफ़्तार करके किसी अज्ञात स्थान पर बंद कर दिया था। 13 अप्रैल 1919 को बैसाखी के दिन इन नेताओं की गिरफ़्तारी का विरोध करने के लिए एक जनसभा हुई। यह जनसभा अमृतसर के जलियाँवाला बाग में हुई थी। जलियाँवाला बाग एक मैदान था जो चारों ओर मकानों से घिरा हुआ था और उसमें आने-ज़ाने का केवल एक सँकरा रास्ता था। सभा पूर्णतः शांतिपूर्वक चल रही थी। उसमें हज़ारों लोग—बूढ़े, बच्चे, स्त्री-पुरुष मौजूद थे। किंतु विदेशी शासकों के लिए यह एक चुनौती बन गई। एक अंग्रेज़ अफ़सर जनरल डायर फ़ौजी दस्ता लेकर वहाँ पहुँचा। उसने बाहर निकलने के एकमात्र रास्ते पर सैनिक दस्ता खड़ा कर दिया। फिर बिना किसी चेतावनी के उसने अपने फ़ौजियों को मशीनगन से लोगों पर गोलियाँ चलाने का आदेश दिया। फ़ौजी उस समय तक अंधाधुंध गोलियाँ चलाते रहे जिस समय

तक गोलियाँ खत्म नहीं हो गईं। लोगों को बाहर निकलने का अवसर नहीं दिया। स्त्रियों और छोटे-छोटे बच्चों तक को भी नहीं बख्शा गया। इस कांड में सैकड़ों लोग मारे गए और हजारों घायल हुए। हत्याकांड के बाद पूरे पंजाब में 'मार्शल लॉ' लगा दिया गया और जनता के साथ जघन्य और बर्बरतापूर्ण व्यवहार किया गया। कई दिनों तक ब्रिटिश सरकार ने इस हत्याकांड की खबर नहीं फैलने दी। धीरे-धीरे यह खबर पंजाब के बाहर फैली तो देश-भर में अंग्रेज़ी सरकार के विरुद्ध आक्रोश की लहर दौड़ गई। इस हत्याकांड की खबर से रवींद्रनाथ ठाकुर को भी बड़ा आघात पहुँचा।

30 मई 1919 ई. को रवींद्रनाथ ठाकुर ने इस हृदय-विदारक घटना के विरोध में 'सर' की उपाधि लौटाते हुए जो पत्र लिखा वह इस प्रकार है—

6 द्वारिकानाथ लेन
कलकत्ता

महामहिम,

पंजाब सरकार ने कुछ स्थानीय गड़बड़ियों की कुचलने के लिए जो निर्मम कदम उठाए हैं, उनकी भयंकरता के कठोर धक्के ने ब्रिटिश प्रजा के रूप में हमारी असहाय स्थिति को स्पष्ट कर दिया है। हमें पूर्ण विश्वास है कि अभागे लोगों को जो अमानवीय दंड दिया गया है और उसके लिए जो तरीके अपनाए गए हैं उनकी मिसाल किसी भी समय सरकार के इतिहास में न तो अतीत में मिलती है और न वर्तमान में ही। इस बात का विचार करते हुए कि जिस शक्ति के पास मानव जीवन के विनाश के लिए सबसे सबल साधन है, वह निहत्थी और साधनहीन जनता के साथ ऐसा व्यवहार करे। हम ज़ोर देकर कहना चाहते

हैं कि न तो इससे कोई राजनीतिक प्रयोजन सिद्ध होता है और न इसका कोई नैतिक औचित्य ही है।

धार्मिक विचारों की दुहाई देकर यहाँ मैं अपनी सफ़ाई नहीं देना चाहता। हमारे पंजाबी भाइयों ने जो अपमान और पीड़ा सही है, उसकी कहानी दबी हुई आवाज़ के साथ व्यक्त होकर पूरे भारत में फैल गई है। इससे हम लोगों के हृदय में जो सर्वव्यापी धिक्कार की भावना पैदा हुई, उसकी अवहेलना अंग्रेज़ी शासकों ने संभवतः अपने को इस बात पर बधाई देते हुए कर दी कि उन्होंने हमें उचित पाठ पढ़ा दिया। यहाँ के अधिकांश आंग्ल भारतीय अखबारों ने इस निर्ममता की प्रशंसा की है और कुछ अखबारों ने इस पाशविक निष्ठुरता से पूर्ण हमारे संताप का परिहास भी किया है। अधिकारियों की निर्बाध निरंकुशता का विरोध किसी ने नहीं किया है। कराहती हुई भारतीय जनता की पीड़ा एवं उनके विचारों को भी सही-सही व्यक्त नहीं किया गया है। जो सरकार न्याय का पालन करके भौतिक और नैतिक दृष्टि से महान हो सकती थी, उसे घोर राजनीतिक प्रतिरोध ने अंधा बना दिया है। इसीलिए भारतीय लोगों की सब प्रार्थनाएँ भी व्यर्थ हो गई हैं।

मैं अपने देशवासियों की इस मूक व्यथा के लिए कम-से-कम इतना तो कर ही सकता हूँ कि अपना विरोध व्यक्त करूँ और उसका परिणाम अपने ऊपर लूँ। आज सम्मान की पदवी हमारे अपमान के विसंगत संदर्भों को उभार रही है। इसीलिए मैं सभी विशिष्टताओं से मुक्त होकर अपने उन देशवासियों के साथ खड़ा होना चाहता हूँ जो तथाकथित तुच्छता के कारण मनुष्य के लिए अनुपयुक्त हीनता सहन करने के लिए बाध्य हुए हैं। इन्हीं उपर्युक्त सभी तथ्यों के कारण विवश होकर खेद के साथ मुझे महाराजाधिराज से प्राप्त 'सर' (नाइट)

की पदवी से मुक्त होने के लिए अनुरोध करना पड़ रहा है, जिसे मैंने आपके उन पूर्वाधिकारी के हाथों से ग्रहण किया था, जिनकी महानता के प्रति मेरे मन में अब भी श्रद्धा है।

आपका,

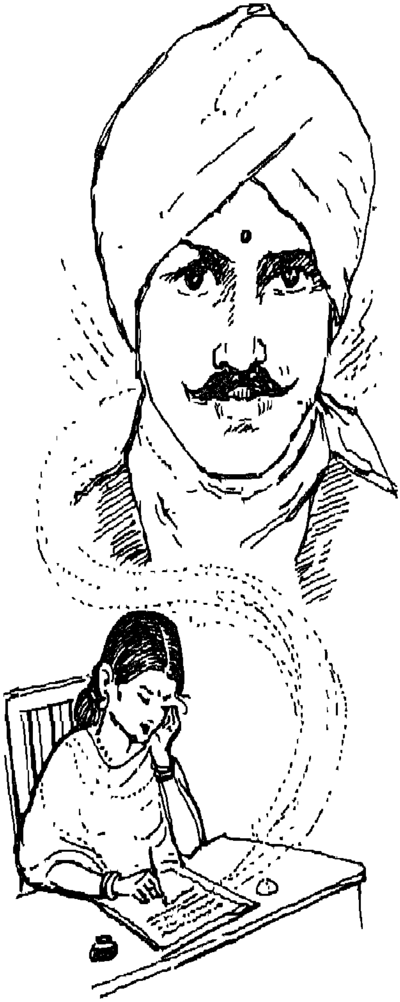
30 मई 1919 रवींद्रनाथ ठाकुर

लेखक एवं अनु॰ **कैलाशचंद्र भाटिया**

प्रश्न

1. जलियाँवाला बाग हत्याकांड को रवींद्रनाथ ठाकुर ने अमानवीय और अपमानजनक क्यों बताया है?
2. उक्त कांड से ब्रिटिश सरकार का कौन-सा रूप उभर कर सामने आया?
3. रवींद्रनाथ ठाकुर ने ब्रिटिश सरकार से मिली 'सर' की उपाधि लौटाने का निश्चय क्यों किया?

3. स्मृतियों के पन्नों से



मैं पिताजी की लाड़ली बेटी थी। यद्यपि हम दो बहनें थीं, फिर भी ज़्यादातर मैं ही आखिर तक उनके साथ रही। बड़ी बहन अक्सर बुआ के पास रहती थी। पापा मुझे कण्णू (प्यारी) के नाम से पुकारा करते थे। मेरे जन्म के समय पिताजी महाकवि कालिदास के 'शाकुंतलम्' का अध्ययन कर रहे थे, इसलिए मेरा नाम शकुंतला रखा।

पिताजी अज्ञातवास में थे। वे पांडिचेरी प्रवास को ही अज्ञातवास कहा करते थे। माँ और मैं उनके साथ थीं। मेरे दोनों मामाजी भी बड़े देशभक्त थे। पिताजी की बड़ी मदद करते थे। मुसीबत के वक्त माँ हमें लेकर मायके चली जाती थीं। पिताजी बड़े स्वाभिमानी थे, दबकर रहना उनके

लिए असह्य था। कोई-कोई कहते भारती बैरागी हैं, गृहस्थी का ख्याल नहीं करते, पत्नी और बच्चों के प्रति लापरवाह हैं। लेकिन यह सरासर झूठ है। हाँ, सांसारिक दृष्टि से, लोगों की राय में वे बैरागी थे। नोन, तेल, लकड़ी की समस्या पर सिर खपाने का उन्हें अवकाश ही कहाँ था। पैसे कमाने की कला में वे माहिर न थे। उनके निकट के आत्मीय मित्रों के अलावा उनके महत्त्व को समझने वाला, उनको प्रोत्साहित करने वाला, सहायता करने वाला कोई न था।

सन् 1908 में पिताजी पांडिचेरी में आए और सन् 1918 तक वहीं रहे। दस साल की इस लंबी अवधि में उन्होंने क्या-क्या कष्ट नहीं झेले। मानसिक और आर्थिक क्लेश से पीड़ित पिताजी के वे दिन अत्यंत दुखदायक रहे। मैं उस समय सात-आठ साल की थी, फिर भी मेरे स्मृतिपटल पर अंकित वे चित्र आज भी ताज़े हैं।

पिताजी का जन्म 11 दिसंबर, 1882 में तमिलनाडु के तिरुनेलवेली जिले के एट्टयपुरम नामक ग्राम में हुआ था। बालक का नाम रखा गया सुब्रह्मण्य। वे पाँच वर्ष के थे कि उनकी माँ चल बसीं। वे अपने नाना के लाड़-प्यार में पले। वे शारीरिक रूप से कमज़ोर और स्वभाव से संकोची थे। दादाजी (भारती के पिता) चाहते थे कि उनका बेटा अंग्रेजी पढ़-लिखकर अफ़सर बन जाए। लेकिन बेटे को स्कूली पढ़ाई में उतनी दिलचस्पी न थी। छुटपन से ही कविता के प्रति उनकी रुचि थी। वे अक्सर छोटी-मोटी तुकबंदी करते, गीत लिखते और मित्रों को सुनाते थे। सात वर्ष की उम्र में ही उनकी प्रतिभा पर विद्वान लोग चकित रह जाते। नौवें साल में वे समस्यापूर्ति करने में समर्थ हो गए। ग्यारहवें वर्ष में उन्हें 'भारती' की उपाधि मिली। उस दिन से पिताजी कवि सुब्रह्मण्य 'भारती' कहलाने लगे।

गाँव की पढ़ाई पूरी होते ही पिताजी उच्च शिक्षा के लिए तिरुनेलवेली भेज दिए गए। वहाँ पर तीन साल पढ़ते रहे। स्कूल के तमिल पंडित अक्सर उन

पर छींटे कसते। एक दिन कक्षा में ऊँचे आसन पर बैठे हुए भारती को देखकर उन्होंने ताना मारा—"कहा जाता है कि आप कवि कालमेघ हैं। (कालमेघ शिष्ट शब्द है—कालमेघ तमिल के प्राचीन कविश्रेष्ठ हैं और दूसरा अर्थ है कालामेघ) इतने ऊँचे आसन पर आसीन होकर भी आप बरसते क्यों नहीं?" भारती जी ने झट कहा – "जी ! पडित होकर भी आप प्रकति का स्वभाव नहीं जानते।" कालामेघ अपनी मजी से ही बरसता है, पंडितों की आज्ञा से नहीं।" यह घटना उस उम्र में ही पिताजी की निर्भीकता का परिचय देती है।

1897 के जून महीने में कवि भारती का विवाह कडैयम नेल्लप्पा अयूयर की सुपुत्री चेल्लम्मा के साथ बड़ी धूमधाम से हुआ। पाँच साल के बाद मेरे दादाजी का देहांत हो गया। अब प्रश्न यह उठा कि भारती किसके पास रहें? आखिर उनकी बुआ उन्हें अपने साथ काशी ले गईं। वहाँ पर उन्होंने संस्कृत और हिंदी का अध्ययन किया। काशीवास के समय ही वे श्रीमती एनी बेसेंट के संपर्क में आए। इस संपर्क से उनका हृदय राजनीति की ओर झुका। सबसे पहला काम भारती ने यह किया कि उन्होंने चोटी (शिखा) और लंबी मूँछ रख ली जो अंत तक बनी रही। यही नहीं, उत्तर भारतीयों की तरह साफ़ा भी बाँध लिया। इस बात को लेकर घर, परिवार में काफी हलचल हुई। इसी बीच में एट्टयपुरम रियासत के ज़मींदार काशी आए हुए थे वे कवि भारती पर प्रसन्न होकर उन्हें अपने साथ एट्टयपुरम ले गए।

कवि भारती के जीवन का पहला पृष्ठ दरबारी कवि के रूप में खुला, किंतु काव्य रसिक ज़मींदार की रसिकता की प्यास बुझाने में भारती असमर्थ रहे। उस विलासितापूर्ण वातावरण में उनका दम घुटने लगा। उनका मन विद्रोह कर उठा।

सन् 1904 में उनके जीवन ने एक नया मोड़ लिया। भारती मद्रास आए और 'स्वदेश मित्र' में उप-संपादक बने। अब कवि भारती, मात्र कवि ही नहीं,

क्रांतिकारी देशभक्त भी थे। उनका प्रखर व्यक्तित्व एवं प्रभावशाली लेखनी पत्रिका-जगत में खुलकर अपनी करामात दिखाने लगी। उनके लेखों ने तमिल गद्य की शैली में युगांतकारी परिवर्तन किया। पाठक मुग्ध हो उठे। उनकी कीर्ति बढ़ने लगी, लेकिन अपने क्रांतिकारी विचारों के कारण वे पुलिस की नज़रों में खटकने लगे।

भारती 'इंडिया' (उस समय का प्रसिद्ध राजनीतिक समाचारपत्र) के संपादक बन गए। जनता में व्याप्त पराजित भावना, उत्साहहीनता को कवि ने महसूस किया। और उन्होंने ऐसी कविताएँ लिखीं जिनसे जनता की रग-रग में नया जोश भर गया। 1908 में प्रकाशित 'स्वदेश गीत' भारती की पहली प्रकाशित रचना है। उसमें चौदह गीत हैं। सन् 1909 में उनका दूसरा ग्रंथ 'जन्मभूमि और स्वदेश गीत' प्रकाशित हुआ।

श्री अरविंद घोष अपने समय के प्रमुख क्रांतिकारी थे। एक बमकांड में ब्रिटिश सरकार उनके विरुद्ध मुकदमा चला रही थी, लेकिन सन् 1910 में वे अंग्रेज़ी पुलिस की आँखों में धूल झोंककर गुप्त रूप से पांडिचेरी आ गए। उस समय पिताजी पांडिचेरी में ही थे। उन्होंने तथा उनके मित्र श्री निवासाचार्य ने श्री अरविंद का स्वागत किया। अरविंद बाबू का मन राजनीति से विरक्त होकर योगमार्ग की ओर प्रवृत्त हो गया था। उन्होंने 'कर्मयोगी' नामक पत्रिका का प्रकाशन आरंभ किया। पांडिचेरी में रहकर भारती उसका तमिल रूपांतर निकालते रहे।

अरविंद बाबू के संपर्क में आकर पिताजी ने वेदों का अध्ययन किया, उनके कुछ अंशों का तमिल में अनुवाद भी किया।

सन् 1910 में पिताजी ने साहित्य रचना में अपना पूरा ध्यान और समय लगाना प्रारंभ किया। सन् 1912 का वर्ष उनके जीवन में बड़ा महत्व रखता है। उसी साल उन्होंने कई उत्कृष्ट ग्रंथों की रचना की।

पांडिचेरी प्रवास के दिनों में आर्थिक दृष्टि से उन्हें असह्य कष्ट झेलने पड़े। दुख की आँच में तप-तप कर उनकी कविता निखरती गई। उनके गीतों में प्राणो को स्पंदित करने वाला जो जोश और आकुलतापूर्ण भावुकता थी, वह पाठकों और श्रोताओं को मुग्ध कर देती थी।

गुनगुनाते हुए पिताजी को कमरे में चहलकदमी करते देखते ही पता लग जाता कि आज वे किसी नई रचना को जन्म देने वाले हैं। जब तक वह उनकी गंभीर वाणी में मुखरित न होती तब तक खाने-पीने की सुध-बुध ही उन्हें न रहती। ऐसे समय उन्हें एकांत ही प्रिय लगता। कविता को स्वर-ताल में बिठाने तक आराम न लेते। ज़ोर-ज़ोर से पैर पटकते, आँखे मूँदे, स्वरों की तान छेड़ते, चहलकदमी करते और मैं उन्हें मंत्रमुग्ध-सी देखती रहती।

पांडिचेरी के निकट एक सुंदर आम्रकुंज है, शांत और रमणीय। उस अमराई की सघन छाया में, पक्षीगण के कलरव गान के बीच ही 'कोयल का गीत' लिखा गया। पिताजी प्रकृति के उपासक थे, सौंदर्य प्रेमी थे। हरियाली से लहराते खेत, मंद पवन में झूमते वृक्ष, पंख फड़फड़ाते हुए उड़ते पक्षीगण, चटकती कलियाँ, खिलते फूल, उफनती लहरें, गरजता सागर—ये सब कवि के दिल को मोह लेते थे। वे अपने को भूल जाते और कविता मुखरित हो उठती थी।

एक दिन की बात है। मित्रों की मंडली जमी थी। व.वे.सु.अय्यर ने निराशा से पीड़ित स्वर में पूछा, "हम भारतीय कब तक यों बँधे रहेंगे?" पिताजी ने उत्तर दिया,

बंदी हैं हम—सहते रहेंगे, समय बदलेगा,
देखेंगे, धर्म की विजय पताका फहराते,
धनुष है एक! भाई ! गांडीव है उसका नाम।
(यह 'पांचाली शपथम्' में अर्जुन का कथन था।)

पूज्य व. वे. सु. अय्यर को जोशीले स्वर में बार-बार इसे दोहराते हुए मैंने

देखा और सुना है।

दरिद्रता, बीमारी, पारिवारिक कठिनाइयाँ, मानसिक वेदना आदि से पिताजी का दुर्बल शरीर जर्जर हो चुका था। फिर भी उनका मन स्वस्थ और स्फुलिंग के समान तेजस्वी था। उनकी 'भारत समुदायम्' शीर्षक कविता में ये पंक्तियाँ हैं :

> "यह देश तीस करोड़ आदमियों की सार्वजनिक संपत्ति है। इस पर सबका समान अधिकार है। हमारा यह समाज हमारी लोकतांत्रिक सत्ता दुनिया में निराली है। हम समस्त भारतीय एक कुल के हैं, एक जाति के हैं। यहाँ पर सबका स्थान समान है। मानव मूल्य सबका समान है। ऊँच-नीच कोई नहीं। हर भारतीय इस देश का राजा है, हाँ राजा है।"

पिताजी पर हमेशा सुधार की धुन सवार रहती थी। समाज के अर्थहीन जड़ बंधन से मानव को मुक्त करने के लिए वे अधीर थे। सामाजिक और जातीय बंधनों के विरोधी थे। धार्मिक कट्टरता, संकुचित जातीय भावना, बाह्याचार आदि का ज़ोरदार खंडन किया करते थे। उन्हें न समाज का डर था, न व्यक्तियों का। वे बिलकुल आज़ाद विचारों के आज़ाद पुरुष थे।

उन दिनों पत्नी को साथ लेकर बाहर जाने की हिम्मत किसी में न थी। मगर वे माँ के गले में हाथ डालकर उसे बाहर घुमाने ले जाया करते थे। गाँव वाले इस व्यवहार को देखकर झल्ला उठते।

पिताजी सर्वधर्म समानता को मानने वाले थे। भिन्न-भिन्न जातिवालों, नीचे कहे जाने वालों के साथ बैठकर उन्होंने भोजन किया। इस बात को लेकर भारी हंगामा खड़ा हो गया। पांडिचेरी में उन्होंने एक हरिजन युवक का उपनयन कराया। वे बाल-विवाह के विरुद्ध थे। नारी जागरण, नारियों की उन्नति तथा स्त्री-शिक्षा के वे पक्षपाती थे। वे हम बहनों को स्वाभिमानी, निर्भीक और साहसी बने रहने का बराबर उपदेश दिया करते थे।

रोबीला चेहरा। तनी हुई मूँछें, दुबला-पतला छरहरा शरीर। सिकुड़ी हुई छाती। साँवला रंग। चौड़ा ललाट। ललाट के मध्य कुंकुम का बड़ा तिलक। घनी भृकुटियाँ, तीखी नाक, पिचके गाल। सिर पर पगड़ी। खुली शर्ट, उसके ऊपर ढीला कोट। उमंगों से भरा हृदय। मस्त चालें। सरल और सीधा व्यवहार। उनकी आँखें इतनी चमकीली और आकर्षक थीं कि देखने वाले मुग्ध हो जाते। उनकी क्षीण काया को देखते लगता था कि क्या इसी व्यक्ति में इतना तेज और सशक्त कवि की प्रतिभा है?

—अनु. सरस्वती रामनाथ

प्रश्न

1. सुब्रह्मण्य भारती को बचपन में किन कठिन परिस्थितियों का सामना करना पड़ा?
2. लोगों की राय में वे बैरागी क्यों थे?
3. स्कूल के तमिल पंडित ने उन्हें किस आशय से 'कालमेघ' कहा था?
4. 'भारती केवल कवि ही नहीं, बल्कि क्रांतिकारी और महान देशभक्त भी थे।' उनके जीवन से कुछ उदाहरण देकर इस कथन की पुष्टि कीजिए।
5. सुब्रह्मण्य भारती के व्यक्तित्व के निम्नलिखित पहलुओं पर संक्षिप्त टिप्पणियाँ लिखिए :
   (क) उनका समाज सुधारक रूप
   (ख) उनकी निर्भीकता
6. भारती के रूप और आकार का वर्णन अपने शब्दों में कीजिए।
7. भारती की काव्य-रुचि और काव्य-प्रतिभा पर प्रकाश डालिए।

4. पिस्ते-बादाम

"दादी माँ, यह देखो", श्याम दौड़ता-दौड़ता अपनी दादी माँ के पास आया और बोला।

"क्या है?" दादी माँ काम में लगी थी, उसने उसकी ओर देखे बिना ही झल्लाकर पूछा।

"देखो ना, मैं क्या खा रहा हूँ", श्याम ने मुट्ठी खोलते हुए कहा।

"क्या खा रहा है, रे?" दादी माँ ने फिर पूछा।

"देखो ना, मेरे दोस्त सुनील की माँ ने दिए हैं", श्याम ने उत्तर दिया।

"अरे, यह तो पिस्ते-बादाम हैं!" दादी माँ ने हैरत से कहा--"उसके यहाँ ये कहाँ से आए?"

श्याम बोला—"सुनील का बड़ा भाई दुबई से आया है ना ! वह ले आया है। बहुत-सा सामान लाया है। सुनील कह रहा था, हम यह सामान बेचेंगे और खूब पैसा कमाएँगे।"

तब तक श्याम का छोटा भाई रमेश और छोटी बहन मोहिनी, दोनों भीतर के कमरे से बाहर आ गए थे। मोहिनी ने पूछा, "श्याम, तुम्हारे पास क्या है? मुझे भी खिलाओ ना !"

श्याम ने मुँह चिढ़ाते हुए कहा—"मुझे भी खिलाओ ना! चल हट तू मुझे कुछ खिलाती है।"

दादी माँ ने उसे डाँटते हुए कहा, "क्यों नहीं इन सबको खिलाते? दोनों को दो-दो पिस्ते-बादाम दो।"

श्याम ने रूठी-सी आवाज़ में कहा, "ये हैं हीं कितने जो दोनों को भी खिलाऊँ?"

"देखें, कितने हैं?" रमेश नें कुछ सोच-समझ कर प्रस्ताव रखा।

श्याम ने जैसे ही अपनी मुट्ठी खोली, रमेश ने झपटकर दो-चार पिस्ते-बादाम हथिया लिए और दो-चार पिस्ते-बादाम नीचे गिर गए, वे मोहिनी ने लपक कर ले लिए।



रमेश ने मुफ़्त में हाथ लगे पिस्ते-बादाम जल्दी से अपने मुँह में डाल लिए, परंतु मोहिनी ऐसा न कर सकी। श्याम ने उसे एक घूँसा रसीद कर कहा,"क्यों री, तू क्यों झपट्टा मारती है?"

मोहिनी ने उसे फटकारते हुए कहा—"मैंने क्या झपट्टा मारा? मुझे तो ये भगवान की धरती से मिले।"

"भगवान की धरती से मिले!" श्याम ने उसकी चोटी पकड़ ली और कहा, "बड़ी आई है भगवान की धरती से उठाने वाली! इधर वापस कर मुझे!" लेकिन मोहिनी ने भी वे पिस्ते-बादाम जल्दी से अपने मुँह में डाल लिए। इतने में रमेश ने थू-थू कर पिस्ते-बादाम थूक दिए। वह बोला, "ये तो बड़े कड़वे हैं। मोहिनी, ये ज़हर जैसे कड़वे हैं, तुम नहीं खाना।"

मोहिनी ने आँखे मटकाते हुए कहा, "नहीं, नहीं, मेरे वाले तो बड़े मीठे हैं।"

रमेश ने दादी माँ से कहा, "माँ, मुझे एक चवन्नी दो, मैं भी लाऊँगा।"

दादी माँ ने कहा, "पागल हुए हो क्या? चवन्नी के पिस्ते-बादाम नहीं मिलते। एक चवन्नी में एक ही बादाम मिलेगा।"

"अच्छा?" बच्चों की एक साथ चीख-सी निकल पड़ी।

"और नहीं तो क्या? पिस्ते-बादाम सस्ते हैं क्या? सौ-सवा-सौ रुपए के एक किलो होंगे पिस्ते, और अस्सी रुपए के एक किलो से क्या कम होंगे बादाम। हम गरीब लोगों को भगवान की ये चीजें खाना मना है," दादी माँ ने उन्हें समझाया।

"दादी माँ, मैंने ये पिस्ते-बादाम कभी देखे तक नहीं थे। आज ही देखे हैं," मोहिनी ने अजीब से स्वर में कहा।

"बेटी, तुम देखती कैसे? घर में ये चीज़ें आएँ तो तुम देखो। आज पहले का-सा ज़माना तो नहीं।" और दादी माँ थैले में से सब्जियाँ निकालने लगी।

रमेश ने दादी माँ से पूछा, "दादी माँ, तुमने कभी पिस्ते-बादाम खाए हैं?"

दादी माँ ने उत्तर दिया, "खाए क्यों नहीं हैं?"

"तो तुमने हमें क्यों नहीं खिलाए?"

"अरे, अब यहाँ थोड़े ही खाए हैं। सिंध में खाए थे, उसके बाद तो...... दादी माँ , उदास हो गई।

श्याम ने पूछा, "यह सिंध क्या है? कहाँ है?"

दादी माँ ने कहा, "सिंध हमारा वतन था। वह यहाँ से दो दिन के फ़ासले पर तो जरूर होगा।"

रमेश ने पूछा, "हम वहाँ चलकर क्यों नहीं रहते?"

दादी माँ ने उसे समझाते हुए कहा, "नहीं बेटे, हम अब वहाँ जाकर नहीं रह सकते। ...... वहाँ के लोगों ने हमें वहाँ से भगा दिया था। अब सिंध पाकिस्तान में है।"

मोहिनी ने जिज्ञासा व्यक्त की, "दादी माँ, पहले तुम लोग वहाँ रहते थे?''

दादी माँ ने कहा, "हाँ, बेटी, हम लोग कराची में रहते थे।"

श्याम को कुछ याद आ गया था। वह बोला, "हाँ, मैंने भूगोल की किताब में पढ़ा है कि कराची पाकिस्तान का बड़ा बंदरगाह है।"

"होगा, बेटे," दादी माँ ने उदासीन स्वर में उत्तर दिया।

"दादी माँ, वहाँ के लोगों ने तुम को वहाँ से क्यों भगा दिया था?" रमेश ने जानना चाहा ·

"न जाने हमारे नेता लोग कैसे थे, जिन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान-पाकिस्तान बनाया और हम लोगों को यहाँ आना पड़ा। हम अपने ही घर में बेघर हो गए।" दादी माँ की उदासी बढ़ गई थी।

मोहिनी ने दादी माँ के गले में बाँहें डालकर पूछा, "दादी माँ, फिर तुम लोग सिंध छोड़कर कहाँ गए?"

गले से मोहिनी की बाँहें हटाते हुए दादी माँ ने कहा, "कहाँ जाते? यहाँ



हिंदुस्तान में आ गए। जब से सिंध छोड़ा है, हम क्या कहीं आराम से बस पाए हैं? मुल्क तो क्या, रोज़ी-रोज़गार भी गया।"

मोहिनी ने पूछा—"दादी माँ, तुम वहाँ क्या करती थीं?"

दादी माँ को गुस्सा आ गया। वह बोली, "खाक छानती थी। अरे, मैं वहाँ क्या करती? तुम सोचती हो, मैं भी शायद तुम्हारी मम्मी की तरह नौकरी करती थी। अरे, उन दिनों औरतें नौकरी नहीं करती थीं .... । मेरे पिताजी की मिठाई की दुकान थी। हमारी दुकान का पिस्ते-बादाम का हलवा बड़ा ही मशहूर था। मुट्ठियाँ भर-भरकर पिस्ते-बादाम खाते थे हम लोग।" मोहिनी के सिर पर हाथ फेरते हुए कहा, "यहाँ बिचारे बच्चों ने ये आज से पहले देखे तक नहीं।"

श्याम ने पूछा, "परंतु दादी माँ, सुनील के यहाँ तो ढेर सारे पिस्ते-बादाम हैं। वे कहाँ से लाते हैं?"

दादी माँ ने ठंडी साँस छोड़कर कहा, "वे अमीर हैं। सुनील के भाई दुबई में कमाते हैं।"

छोटी मोहिनी ने फिर पूछा, "हम अमीर क्यों नहीं हैं?"

अब दादी माँ उन सब को कैसे समझाए कि वे गरीब क्यों हैं। उसने इतना-भर कहा, "बेटी, हम लोग भी सिंध में बड़े सुखी थे।"

दादी माँ सिंध को अभी भुला नहीं पाई हैं। उसने आगे कहा, "यहाँ हमारी किस्मत अभी तक जागी नहीं है। तुम लोग बड़े होकर खूब पैसा कमाना। फिर तो हम भी अमीर हो जाएँगे।"

रमेश ने अपनी छाती ठोंककर कहा, "हाँ, दादी माँ, मैं दुबई जाऊँगा, बहुत सारे पिस्ते-बादाम ले आऊँगा।"

श्याम की आँखों में भी चमक आ गई थी। वह बोला, "मैं भी विदेश जाकर खूब कमाकर आऊँगा और फिर सुनील के भाई की तरह जेब में नोट डालकर घूमूँगा।"

मोहिनी ने कहा, "फिर हम भी इन गुजराती भाइयों की तरह मोटर-कार में घूमेंगे। ये भी बड़े ही अमीर हैं।" मेरी सहेली ने मुझसे एक दिन कहा, "नया फ्रॉक पहनकर आओ तो तुम्हें कार में बिठाऊँ।" लेकिन मेरे पास तो नया फ्रॉक है ही नहीं। सभी तो पुराने हैं। दादी माँ, यह देखो, यह भी यहाँ से फट गया है। उसकी आवाज़ में दुख भरा था।

दादी माँ भी बच्चों की बातें सुनकर दुखी हो उठी लेकिन वह अपने दुख को छिपाती हुई बोली, "अच्छा....... अच्छा, अब तुम सब जाओ और अपनी-अपनी किताबें लेकर पढ़ो। जब खूब पढ़-लिखकर इम्तहान पास करोगे, तभी विदेश जा सकोगे।"

परंतु पढ़ाई के संबंध में दादी माँ की यह बात बच्चों की समझ में नहीं आई। सुनील पढ़ाई में श्याम से भी कहीं ज़्यादा कमज़ोर है। फिर भी वह कहता है



कि वह विदेश जाएगा। लेकिन वे चुप रहे, बोले नहीं।

रविवार का दिन था। बच्चे घर पर ही थे। उनकी मम्मी सुबह से ही घर के काम-काज में व्यस्त थीं। पूरे हफ़्ते का बचा-खुचा काम रविवार की छुट्टी के दिन करना पड़ता है। सुबह को दादी माँ ने नाश्ता तैयार किया तो मम्मी ने बरतन झाड़ू का काम निबटाकर कपड़े धोना शुरू किया। दादी माँ थैले में से सब्जियाँ निकालकर दोपहर के खाने की तैयारी में लगने को थी कि उसे बच्चों ने आकर घेर लिया।

कमला कपड़े धोने के काम से फ़ारिग हुई तो उसने देखा, बच्चे चुपचाप बैठे पढ़ाई कर रहे थे। वैसे तो छुट्टी के दिन बड़ा ही ऊधम मचाते हैं। उसने हैरत से पूछा, "आज ये शैतान कैसे चुपचाप बैठे हैं?"

मोहिनी ने आहिस्ते से कहा; "मम्मी, दादी माँ कहती हैं कि अगर हम पढ़ेंगे तो बड़े होकर अमीर बनेंगे।"

कमला को हँसी आ गई।

रमेश ने मम्मी से पूछा, "तुमने कभी पिस्ते-बादाम खाए हैं?"

कमला को और भी ज़्यादा अचरज हुआ। बोली, "क्यों पूछते हो? पिस्ते-बादाम, हाँ, शायद खाए हैं।"

श्याम ने कहा, "शायद नहीं, पक्की बताओ।"

कमला ने कहा, "बचपन में शायद दो-तीन बार पिताजी ने पिस्ते-बादाम खाने को दिए थे ......।"

रमेश ने बीच में ही कहा, "कहाँ? सिंध में?"

कमला को फिर हँसी आ गई। वह बोली, "अरे मूर्ख, मैं तो यहाँ हिंदुस्तान में जन्मी थी, मैंने सिंध नहीं देखा है। ......लेकिन तुम आज पिस्ते-बादाम का यह किस्सा कहाँ से ले बैठे?"

श्याम ने बचाए हुए दो-तीन पिस्ते-बादाम अपनी जेब से निकालकर मम्मी को दिखाए। कहा, "देखो, मेरे दोस्त सुनील की माँ ने दिए हैं। दो-तीन मोहिनी ले गई, ढेर सारे बदमाश रमेश ले गया।"

कमला ने गुस्से में आकर कहा, "बदमाश, ऐसे कैसे बोलते हो?"

दादी माँ ने कमला को बीच में ही टोककर कहा, "कमला, तुम भी तो ऐसे ही बोलती हो। तुमने भी तो ....।"

सभी हँसने लगे।

रमेश के दिमाग में अभी तक यह बात थी कि उसके पिस्ते-बादाम कड़वे निकले थे। उसने कहा, "मम्मी, हमें पिस्ते-बादाम लेकर दो।"

मम्मी के उत्तर देने से पहले ही दादी माँ बोली, "अच्छा बेटे! कमला, जब तुम्हें इस महीने तनख्वाह मिलेगी, तो तुम बच्चों के लिए दस रुपए के पिस्ते-बादाम खरीद कर लाना।"

कमला असमंजस में पड़ गई। बोली, "लेकिन माँ, अभी तो कर्ज़ की कई किस्तें देना बाकी हैं। ऐसे तो घर-खर्च के लिए दस-रुपए कम हो जाएँगे।"

दादी माँ ने कहा, "अरी बिटिया, जो दस रुपए तुम मुझे हर महीने दिया करती हो, इस बार न देना।...... बच्चों के लिए पिस्ते-बादाम ज़रूर ले आना।"

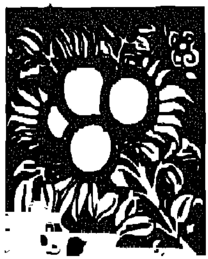
बच्चे खुशी के मारे झूम उठे। कमला ने उन्हें डाँटकर कहा, "अच्छा, इस बार ले आऊँगी। लेकिन आगे कभी ऐसी महँगी चीज़ें लाने के लिए ज़िद मत करना। ...... अब उठो, नहा-धो लो, तो मैं तुम्हारे लिए खाना बना दूँ। तुम्हारे डैडी भी दुकान से आते ही होंगे।"

दादी माँ के चेहरे पर तो मुसकराहट थी, पर आँखों में आँसू थे।

—अनु. मोतीलाल जोतवाणी

प्रश्न

1. श्याम को पिस्ते-बादाम सुनील की माँ ने दिए हैं, यह जानकर दादी माँ को हैरानी क्यों हुई?
2. 'एक चवन्नी में एक ही बादाम मिलेगा' दादी माँ से यह सुनकर बच्चों की चीख-सी क्यों निकल गई?
3. दादी माँ ने अपने परिवार की गरीबी और दुर्दशा का कारण क्या बताया?
4. छुट्टी के दिन ऊधम मचाने वाले बच्चे अकस्मात पढ़ाई में क्यों जुट गए?
5. 'दादी माँ के चेहरे पर तो मुसकराहट थी, पर आँखों में आँसू थे।' इस कथन का आशय समझाइए।



5. जब मैंने नेकटाई बाँधी

कितना अलबेला नाम है 'नेकटाई'। एक पेंच दाईं ओर और दूसरा बाईं ओर। एक ऊपर से और फिर यों। लीजिए, नेकटाई की गाँठ तैयार हो गई। शीशे में मुँह देखिए, गले का नक्शा एकदम बदला हुआ पाएँगे। गले के हुस्न में जिस टेंटुए ने बदमज़गी पैदा कर रखी थी, वही गला एक कुशल माली के सधे हाथों से गुलदस्ते की तरह अब शोभायमान होने लगा है। सच भी यही है कि जब तक व्यक्ति टाई बाँधे होता है तब तक उसमें कुछ अंतर रहता है। उसे अपना व्यक्तित्व, अपने आस-पास का सारा संसार सुंदर और लुभावना लगने लगता है। जेब में चाहे फूटी कौड़ी भी न हो पर यह लटकती झूलती उस पर भी परदा डाल देती है। देखने वाले समझते हैं, कोई पैसेवाला होगा। मगर टाईधारी का ही दिल जानता है कि उस वक्त उस पर क्या गुज़रती है जब पान खाने या खिलाने को उसकी जेब से दस पैसे भी



नहीं निकलते। या फिर किसी खोमचेवाले से अनजाने में टकराने पर पुराने कर्ज को चुकता करने के प्रश्न को लेकर उसके इर्द-गिर्द अच्छी-खासी भीड़ जमा हो जाती है और हजरत को चेहरे पर बेचारगी के भाव लिए बगलें झाँकनी पड़ती हैं।

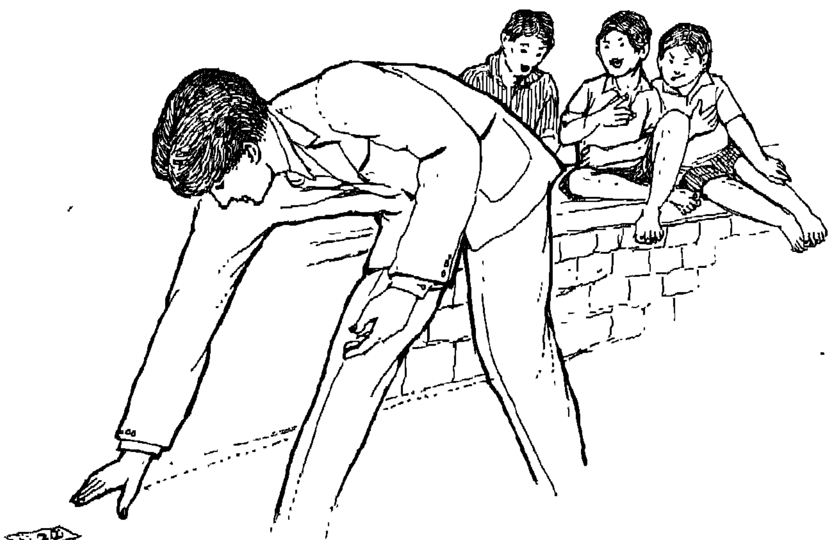
मेरी भी एक दिन इच्छा हुई कि टाई बाँध लूँ। बाँधी, मगर एक दिन के लिए। एक दिन के लिए क्यों? आप सुनेंगे तो मुझ पर हँस देंगे। दरअसल, यह किस्सा ही कुछ ऐसा है। खैर, आपके सामने अपना दिल खोलकर रख देने में मुझे कोई ऐब नहीं दिखता। लीजिए, सुनिए :

दफ़्तर में उस दिन बैठे-बिठाए विचार जागा, मैं टाई क्यों नहीं बाँधता? जब मेरे वे मित्र जो मुझसे कम तनख्वाह पाते हैं, टाई बाँधते हैं तो मेरा ही गला खाली क्यों? विचार काफी अंदर से जागा था और मैंने अंदर ही अंदर फैसला किया कि अब मैं भी आइंदा से टाई बाँधकर दफ़्तर आया करूँगा।

दूसरे दिन सुबह मैंने धोबी के यहाँ से आए कपड़ों में से एक कमीज़ छाँट ली और उसे पहन लिया। फिर नेकटाई बाँधी और ड्राइक्लीन करवाया सूट ऊपर से पहनकर चल दिया दफ़्तर की ओर। रास्ते-भर हयाओ-शर्म से रह-रहकर चलता रहा, क्योंकि जो भी कोई जान-पहचान का मिल जाता, वही पहले मेरी टाई की ओर देखता और फिर एक झूठी-सी मुसकान होंठों पर बिखेरकर कहने लगता, "अच्छा ठीक! बहुत ठीक!!" मैं मन ही मन सोचने लगा, क्या सचमुच मैंने यह ठीक किया है या ये लोग यों ही कह रहे हैं। तभी दूसरे क्षण उन दोस्तों की याद आती जो मुझसे कम तनख्वाह पाते, फिर शान से रंग-बिरंगी टाइयाँ बाँधे दफ़्तर आते। इस बात से मेरा कुछ धीरज बँधा और मैं पूरे दम-खम के साथ इधर-उधर नजरें दौड़ाता हुआ आगे बढ़ने लगा।

तहदार जुल्फों में गज़ब की कंघी की हुई थी, पतलून की क्रीज़ एकदम कड़क

और बूट पालिश से चमचमा रहे थे। बड़े मजे से चला जा रहा था मैं। जब बड़ियार के मोड़ पर पहुँचा तो यहाँ मेरी नज़रें सड़क के दाएँ छोर की नाली से जा टकराईं। दिल बल्लियों उछल पड़ा। नाली के पास दो रुपए का नोट पड़ा हुआ था। हाय री तृष्णा! नोट की शक्ल देखते ही मेरे दिलो-दिमाग पर गज़ब की बेचैनी हावी हो गई। जो टाँगें अब तक मौज़ में चल रही थीं उनमें कुदरती ब्रेक-सा लग गया। गरदन को दाएँ-बाएँ घुमाया तो हरएक को अपने-अपने काम में मशगूल पाया। सोचने लगा, नोट को उठाना ठीक रहेगा या नहीं। जब किसी की इस पर नज़र ही नहीं है तो फिर इसे उठाने में हर्ज़ ही क्या है? उस समय नोट उठा सकने का सुभीता न देखकर मैं दो-चार कदम आगे बढ़ गया और फिर दोबारा पीछे मुड़ आया। इस बीच यह ख्याल बार-बार आता रहा कि टाई पहने हूँ, नोट को उठाना ठीक रहेगा या नहीं। एक बार फिर नोट के ऊपर नज़रें जमाईं। लगा,



वह कातर दृष्टि से मेरी ही ओर देखकर कह रहा हो, "मैं तुम्हारे ही इंतज़ार में था, मुझे उठाते क्यों नहीं हो!"

जेब से मुड़ा एक कागज़ निकालकर नोट के पास मैंने गिरा दिया। इधर-उधर देखकर नोट तक हाथ को पहुँचाने का उपक्रम करने लगा। दिल गज़-गज़ भर उछल रहा था। सिर से पाँव तक पूरा शरीर ठंडा पड़ गया। टाँगें काँपने लगीं और माथे पर पसीना छूट आया। मेरा नोट को छूना ही था कि चारों ओर से हँसी के फुहारे फूट पड़े। मुड़कर देखा, सारे दुकानवाले छोटे-छोटे बच्चों के संग मारे हँसी के दुहरे हुए जा रहे थे। मेरा क्या हाल हुआ, मत पूछिए। आँखों के सामने अँधेरा छा गया, दिन में ही तारे नज़र आने लगे। हाथ-पाँव ऐंठ से गए। चेहरे पर जैसे मानो हल्दी पुत गई। कानों ने आगे सुनने से इनकार कर दिया। नोट को उँगलियों में थामें हुए उसी स्थान पर जैसे जड़-सा गया। सोचा—या इलाही, यह कौन-सी नई बला आ पड़ी। इतने में उन लोगों में से एक दुकानदार, जो शायद मुझे जानता था, मेरे पास आकर खड़ा हो गया और हँसते हुए कहने लगा, "माफ़ करना साहब, आपको तकलीफ़ हुई। इन बच्चों को भी जाने कौन-कौन से मजाक सूझते हैं।" यह कहकर उसने मेरी उँगलियों में से उस दो रुपए के नोट को बड़ी बेमुरौवती के साथ झटक लिया।

मैं गाय की तरह उसके मुँह की ओर देखता रह गया। मारे हँसी के वे लोग अब भी दुहरे हुए जा रहे थे। मुझे दयनीय अवस्था में देखकर वह दुकानदार फिर बोला, "हम सचमुच बहुत शर्मिंदा हैं। हमने सोचा भी न था कि आप जैसे सूटेड-बूटेड जेंटलमैन की निगाह नाली के इस किनारे तक भी जा सकती है। सॉरी, वेरी सॉरी।"

मैं जैसे गहरी नींद से जाग पड़ा, "कोई बात नहीं, कोई बात नहीं", घबराई आवाज़ में मैं केवल इतना ही कह सका। और जब मैं वहाँ से खिसकने को

हुआ तो एक बार फिर ठहाके गूँजे, सीटियाँ बजीं। दो छोकरे चिल्ला-चिल्लाकर आवाजें कसने लगे "जेंटलमैन हाय-हाय, जेंटलमैन हाय-हाय! नेकटाई और सूट हाय-हाय। नेकटाई और ....।"

मैंने खुद को खूब कोसा। अच्छा-भला चला जा रहा था, इन दो रुपयों को देख क्यों लालच में लपक पड़ा। जितनी भी गालियाँ मुझे याद थीं, उनमें से कुछ खुद को दीं और कुछ उन लोगों को जिन्होंने मेरी यह गत बनाई थी। खुद के साथ मैं इस कदर उलझ गया कि मुझे लगने लगा कि राह चलते लोग मेरी ओर ही देखते जा रहे हैं। मुझे जाना था गावक दल से बाईं ओर और मैं सीधा लालचौक पहुँच गया। वहाँ पहुँचकर राहत की एक साँस ली। खड़े-खड़े शरबत के दो गिलास गटक लिए मगर फिर भी अंदर की लपट शांत न हुई। खैर, जैसे-तैसे दफ़्तर पहुँच गया।

"हाँ-हाँ, आज हमसे कहाँ बोलोगे!" एक मित्र ने भिड़ते ही चुटकी ली। "बाइ-गॉड, इस टाई में तो आज हीरो लग रहे हो!" यह बात दूसरे ने कही। मैं खामोश हो कभी एक की ओर देखता तो कभी दूसरे की ओर। "अरे भाई, कुछ बोलो भी तो, हम नाखुश थोड़े ही हुए हैं। गाज गिरे जलनेवालों पर", पहलेवाले ने मुझे मूड में लाने की गरज़ से कहा।

"लो यार, अब ज़्यादा बातें ही क्या करनी हैं", दूसरे ने बीच में ही बात काटी, "देख नहीं रहे—नई टाई, नई अदा, नया रूप, नई फ़िज़ा। इन सबके लिए फॉरमैलिटी अब केंटीन में ही पूरी होगी। चलो जल्दी, बड़े साहब आते ही होंगे।"

मैं सुलग रहा था अंदर ही अंदर। मेरी रुखाई की ओर ध्यान न देकर वे मेरा हाथ पकड़कर मुझे केंटीन तक ले जाने में जैसे-तैसे सफल हो गए। जो भी उनकी इच्छा हुई, हँसते-बतियाते खा-पी गए। मैं भला क्या खाता! मेरे गले के नीचे जैसे किसी ने ज़ोर से गाँठ बाँध दी थी। एक-एक घूँट चाय का लेता

तो बड़ियार का एक-एक दृश्य आँखों के सामने सजीव हो उठता।

सारा दिन दफ़्तर में बेचैनी से गुज़रा। पानी से बाहर निकली 'मछली' की तरह तड़पता रहा। पाँच बजते ही जब सभी अपने-अपने घरों की ओर चल दिए तो मुझे ख्याल आया कि बड़ियार के उस मोड़ पर यदि सुबह के उन लोगों में से किसी एक से भी सामना हुआ तो मेरी क्या हालत होगी! क्यों न दो-तीन घंटे अमीराकदल की तरफ़ बिता आऊँ। तब तक अँधेरा भी हो जाएगा और फिर बेखटके घर चला जाऊँगा। पर, निरुद्देश्य डोलने से तो अच्छा यही है कि अंग्रेज़ी फ़िल्म देख ली जाए। हाँ, आइडिया बुरा नहीं है। मज़े में फ़िल्म देख लेंगे और तब तक अँधेरा भी खूब घिर आएगा, फिर घर। शो शुरू होने के टाइम तक मैंने लालचौक के दो राउंड लगा लिए। ठीक पौने सात बजे सिनेमा-हॉल की घंटी बजी। टिकट-घर की खिड़की खुली। मैंने आश्वस्त होकर अंदर की जेब में हाथ डाला—'बाप रे!' मेरे मुँह से हलकी-सी चीख निकल पड़ी। हाथ जेब में ही रह गया। मेरी चीख हवा में घुल चुकी थी। दाएँ-बाएँ देखा, शुक्र है जो किसी ने मेरी आवाज़ सुनी नहीं थी। सभी टिकटें लेने में लगे हुए थे। जेब से हाथ निकाला और बंद मुट्ठी खोली—बस, दो चवन्नियाँ। सुबह घर से तो पाँच रुपए का नोट लेकर चला था। साढ़े चार कहाँ गए?........ ओह! ध्यान आया, मैं भी कैसा भुलक्कड़ हूँ। सुबह शरबत के जो दो गिलास पी डाले थे उसके पैसे दुकानदार लेता नहीं क्या? एक रुपया उसका और साढ़े तीन रुपए केंटीनवाला खसोट गया। इतने में सिनेमा-हॉल ही तीसरी घंटी भी बज उठी। दरवाज़ों पर काले परदे तान दिए गए, और फ़िल्म चालू हो गई। क्यों न अठन्नी-क्लास की ही एक टिकट खरीदी जाए, इस भीड़ में मुझे देखेगा भी कौन? तभी ख्याल आया, मगर जो लोग मुझे अठन्नीवाले क्लास में टाई बाँधे देखेंगे, वे भला क्या सोचेंगे। नहीं-नहीं, यह तो जान-बूझकर अपनी इंसल्ट करवानी है।

हाँ, एक तरीका है। क्यों न इस टाई को खोलकर जेब के हवाले कर दिया जाए। फिर कोई बात नहीं, अठन्नी वाला क्लास हो या अपर क्लास, कोई कुछ नहीं कह सकता। नज़र बचाकर मैं सिनेमा-हॉल के पीछे की ओर गया। जल्दी से टाई खोल दी और उसे पैंट की जेब में डाल दिया। टिकट ले लेने के बाद हॉल में प्रवेश किया। यहाँ भी मेरे साथ एक ज़बरदस्त मज़ाक हुआ। गेट-कीपर ने बताया कि इस क्लास में एक भी सीट खाली नहीं है, बैठना हो तो इन सीढ़ियों पर बैठ जाओ वरना अपर की टिकट ले आओ। बचपन में कई बार अठन्नी वाले क्लास में फ़िल्म देखने का मौका मिला था मगर एक किनारे पर सीढ़ियों पर बैठकर फ़िल्म देखने का यह मेरे लिए पहला मौका था। स्क्रीन पर नज़रें जमाईं। यह क्या! आदमियों की खोपड़ियाँ खरबूजों जैसी! कहीं मेरी आँखों की रोशनी में कुछ फ़र्क तो नहीं आया है? दो-तीन बार पलकें झपकाईं। इस बार कुछ और ही नक्शा दिखा—भागती मोटर मुझे लंबी बस जैसी दिखाई देती, पेड़ सिर के बल झुके हुए नज़र आते ....। खुद पर हँसी भी आ रही थी और रोना भी।

खैर, जैसे-तैसे मैंने अपने दो सवा-दो घंटे बिता ही दिए। शो समाप्त हुआ और एक ही छलाँग में तीनों सीढ़ियाँ पार करके मैंने बाहर आकर दम लिया। जेब में हाथ डाला, टाई नदारद। जेबों में टाई तलाश ही रहा था कि दो-तीन मित्र इकट्ठे हो गए। ये लोग फ़िल्म के बारे में बहस करने लगे। एक कहने लगा, अच्छी थी, तो दूसरा बोला, साधारण ही थी। मैं यों ही 'हाँ-हूँ' करता रहा। अंदर ही अंदर मैं बहुत परेशान हो रहा था, पर कहता किससे? तभी पीछे से कुछ आवाज़ें मेरे कानों में पड़ीं। मैंने पलटकर देखा, ठिगने कद का एक व्यक्ति अपने साथी से कह रहा था, "यार, कुछ और मिला होता। यह टाई हमारे क्या काम आएगी? लगता है, आज कोई दरिद्र टाई बाँध कर फ़िल्म देखने आया

था। खैर, कोई बात नहीं। हमने भी घर पर एक विलायती पिल्ला पाल रखा है, उसके पट्टे के काम आएगी।" यह कहते हुए वे दोनों साइकिल पर सवार होकर गेट की ओर चल दिए। मैं उन्हें तब तक देखता रहा जब तक कि वे मेरी दृष्टि से ओझल न हुए।

—अनु. शिबन कृष्ण रैणा

प्रश्न

1. लेखक को नेकटाई बाँधने की इच्छा क्यों हुई और उसने उसका क्या औचित्य निकाला?
2. 'जेब में चाहे फूटी कौड़ी न हो, पर यह लटकती झूल उस पर भी परदा डाल देती है।' इस कथन का आशय स्पष्ट कीजिए?
3. नाली के पास पड़े दो रुपए के नोट को देखकर लेखक ने उसके पास अपनी जेब से कागज़ निकालकर क्यों गिराया?
4. सिनेमा देखने से पहले लेखक ने नेकटाई खोलकर अपनी जेब में क्यों डाल ली?
5. लेखक केवल एक ही दिन टाई क्यों बाँध पाया?

6. पीढ़ी-दर-पीढ़ी

चीरफाड़ से पहले बेचारे मेंढक ने असहाय दृष्टि से एक बार सब लड़कों को घूर कर देखा—गोल-गोल अपनी आँखें घुमाते हुए। कातर नेत्रों की गहराइयों में कोई अज्ञात-सा डर छिपा था। फटी-फटी वे आँखें मानों कहीं अतीत से ताक रही थीं। पर अचरज की बात यह थी कि मंडूक-नयनों की कोरों से सद्भाव और जागृति की हलकी-सी झलक टपकती नज़र आ रही थी।

इस घटना को करीब-करीब पचास साल हो गए हैं। मिडिल स्कूल में जीव-विज्ञान की कक्षा थी। विषय था—'मेंढक की शरीर-रचना'। बालन नंबियार मास्टर ने अपने विद्यार्थियों से कह रखा था, "लड़को, कहीं से ज़िंदा मेंढक पकड़ लाओ तो कल क्लास में मज़ा आ जाए। जितना मोटा हो, बेहतर होगा। वैसे मेंढक की तस्वीर दिखा कर भी शरीर-रचना समझा सकता हूँ, लेकिन मेंढक मिल जाए तो चीरफाड़ करके अंदर के अंगों की प्रत्यक्ष जानकारी पा सकते हैं।"

उस दिन स्कूल की घंटी बजते ही सारे बच्चे मेंढक के शिकार पर निकल पड़े। भूख और थकान की कोई चिंता नहीं थी। सिर पर एक ही धुन सवार थी—ज़िंदा मेंढक। ताल-तलैया, नहर-नाले, खेतों की मेंड़, सभी तरह के जलाशयों पर लड़कों की चहल-पहल और उछल-कूद की धूम मच गई। ज़िंदा मेंढक पकड़

लाने की होड़-सी लग गई। कइयों को मेंढक मिल गए, पर छोटे-छोटे। कुछ लड़कों को मोटे मेंढक ज़रूर मिले, लेकिन उनकी टाँगें गायब थीं। मेंढक पकड़ने वालों ने टाँगें काट लेने के बाद उन्हें जीने के लिए छोड़ रखा था—दयापूर्वक। सबसे तगड़ा मेंढक मिला था गोपिकुट्टन को। वाकई वह मेंढक मोटा-तगड़ा था, खूब भरा-पूरा और टाँगें ठीक-ठाक। नंबियार मास्टर ने चीरने के लिए उसी मेंढक को चुना।

स्टाफ़ रूम से एक गत्ता लाया गया। मेंढक को उस पर चित्त लिटाया गया। अगली पिछली टाँगें कस कर खींची गईं। फिर गाड़ी गईं उन पर छोटी-छोटी कीलें—चारों टाँगों पर। मेंढक ने तब हरे रंग की अपनी गोल आँखे घुमाते हुए लड़कों को एक बार देखा था। क्लास में उस समय जलसे का-सा माहौल बन गया था।



बीच में दो-तीन बार गोपिकुट्टन मेंढक को पकड़ने की रोमांचक कथा बता चुका था कि मैंने स्कूल के तालाब से इतना तगड़ा मेंढक कैसे पकड़ा और उसे थैली में कैसे बंद कर पाया। बड़े तड़के वह स्कूल पहुँचा और तालाब के किनारे दुबक कर बैठ गया। इस इंतज़ार में था कि कब कोई मेंढक तालाब से बाहर निकले। इधर मेंढक तालाब से फुदका, उधर कुट्टन ने लंबी छलाँग लगाई। अपनी धोती को फैला कर उस पर डाल दिया—जाल की तरह। तब

जाकर मेंढक उसमें फँसा। गोपिकुट्टन इतना तगड़ा मेंढक क्या लाया, एक ही दिन में स्कूल भर का 'हीरो' बन गया। सबसे बढ़कर अचरज की बात थी, बालन नंबियार द्वारा अभिनंदन। अंक देने में कंजूसी के लिए स्कूल भर में मशहूर नंबियार मास्टर ने सबके सामने गोपिकुट्टन की बड़ी तारीफ़ की। गर्व से सीना ताने खड़ा था कुट्टन। कुछ लड़के उससे जलने भी लगे थे।

चित्त लिटा कर मेंढक को कीलों से ठोंका गया। मेंढक के दिल की धड़कने तेज़ होने से उसका सीना उठता-गिरता नज़र आ रहा था। जल-थल दोनों में समान रूप से चलने में समर्थ उस'उभयजीवी'की चीरफाड़ करने का सौभाग्य मिला गोपिकुट्टन को।

"धीरे से ...... सँभल कर ...."

मास्टर जी हिदायतें दे रहे थे और कुट्टन ने मेंढक के उदर-भाग में ब्लेड से एक लंबी सीधी रेखा खींची, नीचे से ऊपर तक। चमड़ी जब दोनों तरफ़ से खुल गई तो शरीर का सारा रहस्य खुल गया। आंतरिक दुनिया को प्रत्यक्ष देख कर मास्टर जी के पढ़ाने की कला भी जीवंत हो उठी। लड़के अभी भी मेज़ को घेर कर खड़े थे। नंबियार मास्टर ने हुक्म दिया, "लड़को, अपनी-अपनी सीट पर चले जाओ।" बेंच पर बैठते हुए बच्चों को क्लास में मानव-शरीर चीर कर देखने जैसी रोमांचक अनुभूति हो रही थी। मास्टरजी सिर्फ़ गोपिकुट्टन को अपने पास खड़ा करके ऊँची आवाज़ में समझाने लगे' "श्रेणी के दोनों तरफ़ फैला हुआ यह जो देख रहे हो, यह तरुणास्थि है।..... यह पित्तवाहिनी है और यह ग्रसनी है " परस्पर गुँथी हुई ग्रंथियों और धमनियों को छोटी बेंत से हलके-से छूते हुए नंबियार मास्टर ने कहा।

मेंढक के शरीर में उस समय भी जीवन का स्पंदन था। दिल की धड़कनें चल रही थीं, आमाशय और मलाशय साफ़ नज़र आ रहे थे। बच्चों का कौतूहल अपनी चरम सीमा पर पहुँच गया था।



पीरियड खतम हो गया। सभी लड़कों में उत्साह की लहर-सी दौड़ रही थी। मास्टरजी के चेहरे पर आत्मसंतोष था, ईमानदारी से अपना काम करने की कृतार्थता झलक रही थी।

अंत में मास्टरजी ने गोपिकुट्टन से कहा, "अब सावधानी से इसका चिरा हुआ शरीर सी दो।" दो तीन लड़के कुट्टन की मदद के लिए आ जुटे। सूई-धागा लाया गया। तीनों मिलकर मेंढक का शरीर सीने लगे। बाकी सारे लड़के कौतूहल के साथ यह दृश्य देख रहे थे। मास्टरजी के मार्गदर्शन में काम संपन्न हुआ। उस समय भी मेंढक के शरीर में जीवन का स्पंदन शेष था। लड़के पूरे जोश में थे।

सिलाई का काम पूरा होने पर टाँगों से कीलें निकाली गईं। मेंढक को गत्ते पर औंधा रखा गया। बंधन-मुक्त मेंढक ने शायद आह भरी। शरीर उसका एक बार फड़क उठा। हलके स्वर में 'टर्र' बोला भी। बच्चों ने तालियाँ बजा कर अपनी खुशी ज़ाहिर की।

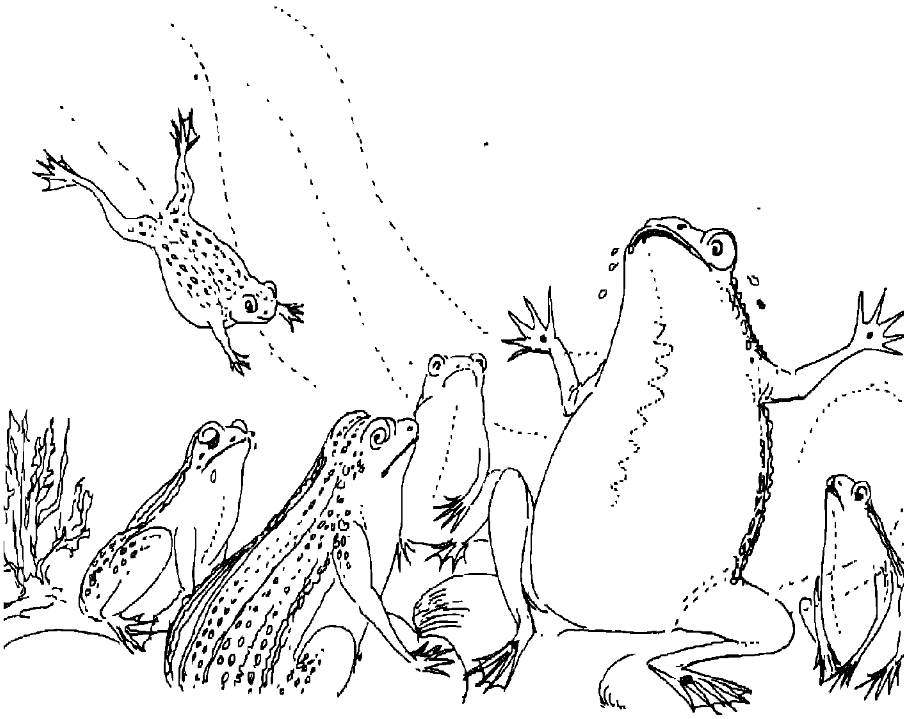
मास्टरजी ने आदेश दिया, "तालाब में छोड़ दो। ज़िंदा है तो जीने दो।"

लड़के क्लास से निकले। सिले हुए मेंढक को लिए हुए जुलूस बना कर तालाब की ओर चल पड़े। मेंढक को देखकर कौन बता सकता था कि उसके शरीर को चीरा गया है। वह पूर्ण रूप से स्वस्थ नज़र आ रहा था।

गोपिकुट्टन ने मेंढक को उतार कर तालाब के किनारे रखा ही था कि ऐसा प्रतीत हुआ, मेंढक ने मुड़कर सभी लड़कों को एक बार देखा। उसके शरीर में पल-पल बढ़ रहे स्पंदन ने सभी में जोश भर दिया। सभी लड़के एक साथ खुशी से चिल्लाने को थे कि मेंढक आगे को फुदका। किलकारियाँ भर कर उछल-कूद मचाते लड़कों की तरफ फिर एक बार दृष्टिपात करने के बाद मेंढक आगे उछला।

'थप्' की आवाज़ के साथ तालाब की गहराइयों में डुबकी लगाते हुए उतरते मेंढक को देख लड़कों ने हर्ष-ध्वनि की।

जीवनदान पाकर वह मेंढक तालाब की गहराइयों में आगे बढ़ा। उसकी यात्रा का पथ अंधकारपूर्ण और क्लेश से भरा था। आँखों के सामने अँधेरा-सा छाया था। पूरे बदन में असहनीय जलन। जैसे-तैसे ताकत बटोर कर मेंढक आगे बढ़ रहा था, फिर भी उसके मन में दुख या संताप नहीं था। धीरे-धीरे मेंढक तालाब के उस पार, घाट की सीढ़ियों तक तैरता हुआ पहुँचा। बगल की तरफ़ काई भरी सीढ़ियाँ जगह-जगह से तड़की हुई थीं। उनके नीचे पत्तों के झुरमुट में बने



अपने घर में घुस कर उसने लंबी साँस लीं।

कृष्ण पक्ष की रात थी। बाट जोहते-जोहते मेंढकी और उसके बच्चे थक गए थे। रो-रो कर आँखें बेहाल थीं। पति के दर्शन से पत्नी की और पिता को देखने से बच्चों की आँखें खुशी से चमक उठीं। बच्चे रोज़ की तरह पिता के शरीर पर चढ़ कर फुदकने लगे। मेंढक बेचारा दर्द से कराहने लगा। पत्नी और बच्चों की समझ में कुछ नहीं आया। परिवार के स्वामी के शरीर पर कोई भी फ़र्क नज़र नहीं आ रहा था। बदन पर लगे टाँकों पर अभी उनका ध्यान नहीं गया था।

"हम तो ड़र गए थे .... कहाँ थे अब तक?"

पत्नी के चिंतापूर्ण सवाल का मेंढक से एकदम उत्तर देते न बना। वह लेट गया पूरी तरह से शरीर तान कर। फिर लंबी-लंबी साँसे ले हाँफ़ने लगा। तभी पत्नी और बच्चों को महसूस हुआ कि मेंढक को कुछ हो गया है। बच्चे रोने लगे। मेंढक ने उन्हें तसल्ली देते हुए पास बुलाया।

"बच्चो! ...... मेरे प्यारे बच्चो!"

दूसरी बार का संबोधन सुन बच्चों ने धीरे-से सिर उठाया। मेंढक बोलने लगा, "बच्चो! एक महान कार्य संपन्न करके तुम्हारा पिता आज घर लौटा है। ईश्वरीय संकल्प से प्रेरित कल्याण-कार्य में पूरी तरह से समर्पित हो गया है मेरा शरीर। इसके फलस्वरूप हमारे निरर्थक जातीय जीवन को एक दिव्य और शाश्वत प्रकाश मिला है। इस अनुपम प्रकाश को तुम्हें विरासत के रूप में देने के बाद अपने धन्य जीवन की स्मृतियाँ बटोरे तुम्हारा पिता विश्राम लेने का मन बना रहा है।"

मेंढक के बच्चे अपनी मासूमियत में टुकुर-टुकुर ताक रहे थे। उनकी समझ में कुछ न आया। मेंढकी को आशंका हुई कि पति पागल तो नहीं हो गया।

"तुम्हें क्या हो गया है?" पूछते हुए मेंढकी ने पति को पकड़ कर झकझोरा।

"उफ् .... हाय!" दर्द से कराहते हुए मेंढक बुरी तरह तड़पने लगा। तभी मेंढकी की नज़र पति के शरीर पर लगे टाँकों पर पड़ी। आक्रोश में भर कर वह चिल्लाने को ही थी कि मेंढक ने उसे सहलाते-पुचकारते हुए अनुरोध किया, "रोना नहीं! मैं अभी जो कहने वाला हूँ, गौर से सुनो और उस पर शांति से विचार करो।"

उसके बाद मेंढकी और बच्चों ने वह दर्दनाक कहानी सुनी कि किस तरह मेंढक चालीस लड़कों वाली कक्षा में स्वयं पाठ्य-उपकरण के रूप में लेटा हुआ था और किस तरह उसका शरीर चीरा गया और सीला गया है। वह घटना सुनाते हुए मेंढक की आवाज़ में न किसी के प्रति शिकायत थी न आक्रोश। मेंढक को असल में गर्व का अनुभव हो रहा था, लग रहा था कि उसका जीवन सफल और सार्थक हो गया। ऐसे लड़कों के ज्ञान-लाभ के लिए घंटे भर अपना शरीर चिरवाने का सौभाग्य उसे मिला—ऐसे लड़कों के लिए, जो अपनी बुद्धि को ज्ञान से संपन्न करके, स्नेह और करुणा से जीवन में नया प्रकाश फैला कर, जीव मात्र के लिए सुनहरे भविष्य के निर्माण हेतु प्रयत्नशील हैं। मेंढक की बातों में कृतार्थता का यही भाव उभर रहा था। अपनी बातें समाप्त करते हुए मेंढक ने कहा कि मेरे शरीर के अंदर जो जीव-शक्ति शेष है, उसका एक-एक कण मैं जीव-जगत के कल्याण के लिए दान करना चाहता हूँ।

पिता की बातें सुनकर बच्चे सचमुच डर गए। मेंढकी के हृदय से जो चीत्कार निकली, उसकी गूँज तालाब में देर तक तरंगें उठाती रहीं।

"रोना नहीं ...." परिवार के स्वामी ने आज्ञा के स्वर में कहा।

मेंढकी और बच्चों ने तुरंत अपना रोना बंद कर दिया। "मैं जब आह्लाद में हूँ तब तुम लोगों का रोना कहाँ तक ठीक है?"

उसके घावों को देख कर मेंढकी अपने को सँभाल नहीं पाई। वह बेहोश होकर गिर पड़ी। उसके पति ने उसके बाद जो भी कहा, एक शब्द भी वह सुन नहीं पाई। बेसुध पड़ी माँ के समीप बैठे बच्चे पिता पर अपनी दृष्टि गाड़े चुपचाप सुनने लगे।

"प्यारे बच्चो! मेरा जीवन बेकार नहीं गया। मेरा जीवन एक महान यज्ञ में काम आया है, इसलिए सारपूर्ण बना है। मैं तो यह मानता हूँ, यह काम हम लोगों के लिए सौभाग्य की बात रही जो आज सुबह मैं उन मानव बालकों के हाथ में आया। इससे उन्हें मेरा आमाशय, पित्तवाहिनी, मलाशय आदि छूने और देखने का मौका मिला और मेंढक की शरीर-रचना का स्पष्ट चित्र उनके मस्तिष्क में अंकित हो सका।"

ज़रा-सा रुक कर मेंढक ने फिर कहा, "मेरे लिए अब जीवित रहना संभव नहीं है। बच्चो, अलविदा! जाने से पहले इतना कहना चाहूँगा कि तुम उन मानव बालकों पर कभी क्रोध न करना। हम किसी के भाग्य-विधाता नहीं हैं। यह भी हमारे हक में नहीं है कि किसी के कर्मों पर पाप की मुहर लगाएँ। पर इतना सच है कि हमारी टाँगें काट लेने वाले मेंढक-शिकारियों की तरह वे मानव बालक धूर्त और स्वार्थी नहीं हैं। उनकी दया और करुणा देखो, जो मरने से पहले आखिरी बार तुम लोगों को देखने और इतनी सारी बातें करने के लिए मुझे छोड़ दिया। उन निश्छल बालकों का सदा आभार मानना।"

इतना कह कर मेंढक ने बिना आँसू बहाए अपना दम तोड़ दिया।

मेंढकी तब भी बेसुध अवस्था में पड़ी थी। पिता की वाणी में निहित गहन और उदार भावों का स्मरण करते हुए बच्चे स्तब्ध और निश्चल बैठे रहे, उन्हें रोना तो आ रहा था, पर रो नहीं पा रहे थे। बेचारे बच्चे पिता के टाँकों को

उँगलियों से सहलाते हुए माँ के जागने की प्रतीक्षा में बैठे थे, पर मेंढकी कभी नहीं उठी।

आज भी मेंढक पीढ़ी-दर-पीढ़ी अपने पूर्वजों की परंपरा का निर्वाह कर रहा है।

—अनु. एच. बालसुब्रह्मण्यम

प्रश्न

1. मास्टर नंबियार ने ज़िंदा मेंढक पकड़कर ले आने का निर्देश अपने विद्यार्थियों को क्यों दिया?
2. गोपिकुट्टन मोटे-तगड़े मेंढक को पकड़ने में किस प्रकार सफल हुआ?
3. चीरे गए मेंढक को देखकर कक्षा के बच्चों को कैसा लगा?
4. अपने अंत समय में मेंढक के आह्लाद का कारण क्या था?
5. भीतर से डरा हुआ होने पर भी मेंढक की नज़रों से सद्भाव और जागृति की झलक क्यों मिल रही थी?
6. ज्ञान-लाभ के नाम पर मेंढकों की चीर-फाड़ आपकी दृष्टि में कहाँ तक उचित है?



7. बंधन का पंछी

दिन चढ़ चुका था। लड़का जल्दी-जल्दी कदम बढ़ा रहा था। अब तक उसे बीड़ी-फ़ैक्टरी में पहुँच जाना था। लेकिन रास्ते में कुछ दोस्त गोली खेल रहे थे। उनमें वह भी शामिल हुआ। ...... ओह! कितना अच्छा था खेल! हर बार वही जीतता था। उस जीत ने खेल में चार चाँद लगा दिए थे ......।

इस तरह खेल का मज़ा लेते हुए वह जा रहा था। करीम को हँसी उमड़-सी पड़ी। सभी दोस्त "बोंड़ा, बोंड़ा" (पकौड़ा, पकौड़ा) कहकर नायडु को चिढ़ाते थे। वह अपनी मोटी देह को ढोकर, लँगड़ी-टाँग खेल में हारता...... हमेशा....।

हँसते-हँसते, सिर नीचा करके चलते जाने वाले करीम को मंडी बाज़ार में थोड़ी दूर जाने पर किसी ने पुकारा, "करीम ! करीम !" आवाज़ परिचित थी।

घूमकर देखा तो वही जनार्दन स्कूल जा रहा था।

करीम और जनार्दन में गहरी दोस्ती थी। दोनों एक ही दर्जे में पढ़ा करते थे।

"स्कूल जा रहे हो?" करीम ने उत्सुकता से पूछा।

"हाँ, रे!" जनार्दन ने कहा।

"इतनी जल्दी, तूफ़ान मेल की तरह निकले हो न?"

"हाँ. सामी के घर जाकर, वहाँ कुछ देर खेलकर, वहीं खाना खाकर, फिर

स्कूल जाता हूँ।"

"ओह ....।" कहकर चुप हुए करीम ने हृदय में एक अस्पष्ट वेदना-यातना अनुभव की। हाथ में किताबें लेकर जाने वाले जनार्दन को देखकर करीम को उससे जलन-सी हुई। जनार्दन को देखते-देखते, करीम को अपने स्कूल, वहाँ के दोस्त, वे खेल, एक-एक करके याद हो आए। करीम का एक-एक कदम मानो हाय ! हाय ! कहता रहा।

दोनों लड़के कुछ समय परस्पर बिना बोले चुपचाप चले। दोनों में करीम को ही बोलना पसंद नहीं आ रहा था।

जनार्दन ने ही मौन को पहले तोड़ा। "क्यों रे, करीम, स्कूल छोड़ दिया?" सहजता से जनार्दन ने पूछा।

प्रश्न ने करीम के दुख को बढ़ाया। उसने मुश्किल से कोशिश करके कहा, "बाप ने छुड़ा दिया।"

"क्यों?"

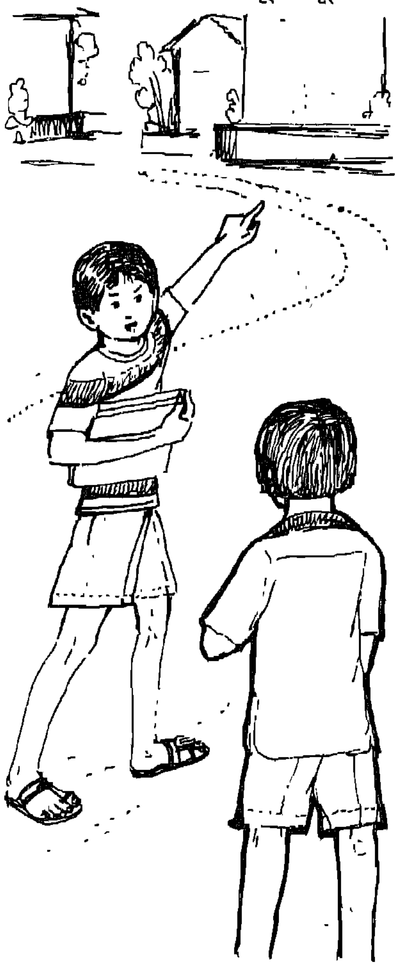
"क्यों? मुझे भी कुछ कमाना चाहिए, इसलिए स्कूल छोड़कर मुझे फ़ैक्टरी में दाखिल करा दिया।"

"छिः छिः, ऐसा नहीं करना चाहिए था तुम्हारे बाप को। देखो, मेरे पिताजी, मेरे छोटे चाचाजी सभी कहते हैं—लड़कों को इस उम्र में अच्छी तरह पढ़ना चाहिए। तुम्हारे बाप को तुम्हें बीड़ी-कारखाने में दाखिल कराना नहीं चाहिए था।" अमीरी में पले लड़के जनार्दन ने कहा।

दस वर्ष के लड़के करीम को समझ में न आने पर भी, उस समय जनार्दन की बात ही सही लगी।

दोनों लड़के तब तक चौराहे पर आ गए थे। एक रास्ता स्कूल को और दूसरा फैक्टरी को जाता था, बिछुड़ने वाले उन दो दोस्तों के प्रतीक की तरह।

"तो मैं जाता हूँ रे", कहकर जनार्दन ने स्कूल की तरफ़ हाथ फेरते हुए कहा, "वहाँ देखो करीम, स्कूल के पास दिखाई पड़ता है न घर, पीला घर, वहीं सामी का घर है। तुमने नहीं देखा है उसको, बड़ा अच्छा है। शाम को स्कूल छूटने के बाद हम सब मिलकर उसी के घर में खेलते हैं। चापु (एक प्रकार का खेल), खो-खो, लँगड़ी-टाँग, कबड्डी वगैरह। अगर तुम भी आओ, तो अच्छा लगेगा।"



"अच्छा।"

दोस्त के प्यार-भरे निमंत्रण पर करीम ने यंत्रवत् कह तो दिया 'अच्छा' परंतु दूसरे ही क्षण उसको कारखाने की याद आई। वह सोचने लगा—"कैसे हो सकता है?" उस कारखाने में शाम को भी काम लेते थे। कभी-कभी साढ़े सात, आठ बजे तक भी धुँधले प्रकाश के कमरे में बिठा देते थे। बीड़ी बाँधने के लिए। पत्ते कतरकर रखने का काम करीम का था। बीच में उस नरक से बाहर जाने के लिए वह कभी हिलता तो बाप की लाल आँखें उससे जैसे कहतीं—"चुपचाप बैठो।"

जनार्दन दूर-दूर होता जा रहा था। उस पार, दूर उसका स्कूल दीख रहा था। स्कूल को देखते-देखते करीम को लगा, जैसे

जीवन में उसने कुछ खो दिया है।

एक लंबी साँस छोड़कर वह अपने कारखाने की ओर चला। ऊपर-ऊपर चढ़ते सूरज को देखकर उसको डर लगने लगा। देर से जाने पर बाप से मार ज़रूर खानी पड़ेगी, इसलिए वह डरा। कमबख्त, गोली खेलने नहीं जाना चाहिए था, मन में सोचा। ....हूँ, हो जाने पर अब क्या करना? .... करनी को भोगो.......! कहता हुआ ज़ोर से चलने लगा।

दस मिनट में वह फ़ैक्टरी के आगे पहुँच गया। लड़के गुल्ली-डंडा खेल रहे थे। करीम मुग्ध होकर देखता खड़ा रहा। 'गुल्ली' के लिए वह चाहे खाना भी छोड़ देता, इतना मन था उसका उस खेल में। एक घड़ी के पहले वह सोच रहा था कि बीड़ी की फ़ैक्टरी की सीढ़ियाँ चढ़कर जाना होगा। सो अब वह मानो भूल-सा गया था।

"तुचीप, तुदांड, तुबद्"(एक, दो, तीन) "रेडी" झुककर खड़ा, डंडा हाथ में लिए गुल्ली को ही देखता लड़का तिम्मा रेड्डी ज़ोर से बोला।

दूर पर गुल्ली को पकड़ने के लिए तैयार रहे विरोधी पक्ष के लड़के बोले, "रेडी"।

करीम का कुतूहल बढ़ा। तिम्मा कैसे मारता है, गुल्ली कितनी दूर जाती है, इसका अंदाज़ा करके वह गौर से देखता रहा।

तिम्मा रेड्डी ने डंडे से गुल्ली पर धीरे से चोट करके, ऊपर उछली गुल्ली पर फिर डंडा फिराया। लेकिन उस तरह फिराए डंडे से गुल्ली का मेल नहीं हुआ। वह केवल हवा में डंडा फिराकर खुद घूमकर खड़ा हो गया। ऊपर उछली गुल्ली फिर उसी जगह गिर पड़ी, जहाँ वह पहले थी।

तब खिलखिलाकर हँस पड़ा करीम।

हँसी हमेशा संक्रामक होती है। .... और लड़के भी हँसे। तिम्मा रेड्डी

को अपमान-सा लगा और नाराज़ हुआ।

"यह आया बड़ा आदमी। हँस रहा है जैसे बड़ा खिलाड़ी है।" कहकर तिम्मा रेड्डी तमतमा उठा।

"मुझे एक बार खेलने दो तो दिखाऊँगा।" करीम ने दृढ़ निश्चय और अटल आत्म-विश्वास से कहा।

"आए बड़े खिलाड़ी, मैं जानता हूँ, चुप रह!"

"एक बार खेलने का मौका देकर देखना!"

"ओ हो, आओ, चाहो तो खेलो!"

चुनौती मिलते ही उसकी बाँहें फड़फड़ाने लगीं। दूसरा कोई कहे, "तुम यह काम नहीं कर सकते।" तो वह कहता, "ज़रूर कर सकता हूँ।" ऐसी दिलेरी थी उसकी, जो उसे आगे ढकेलती थी। वह जोश से आगे बढ़ कर आया। रेड्डी के हाथ से डंडा लेकर उसने गुल्ली को ठीक जगह रखकर डंडे को आराम से फिराते हुए हुंकारकर कहा, "रेडी।" दूर पर खड़े हुए लड़कों ने भी कहा, "रेडी।"



करीम ने डंडे से गुल्ली को उछालकर ऐसा मारा कि वह 'ठन' आवाज़ करके लड़कों के सिरों पर से उड़कर दूर रास्ते के नाले में गिरी।

लड़कों की टोली ने मुग्ध होकर 'शाबाश' कहा।

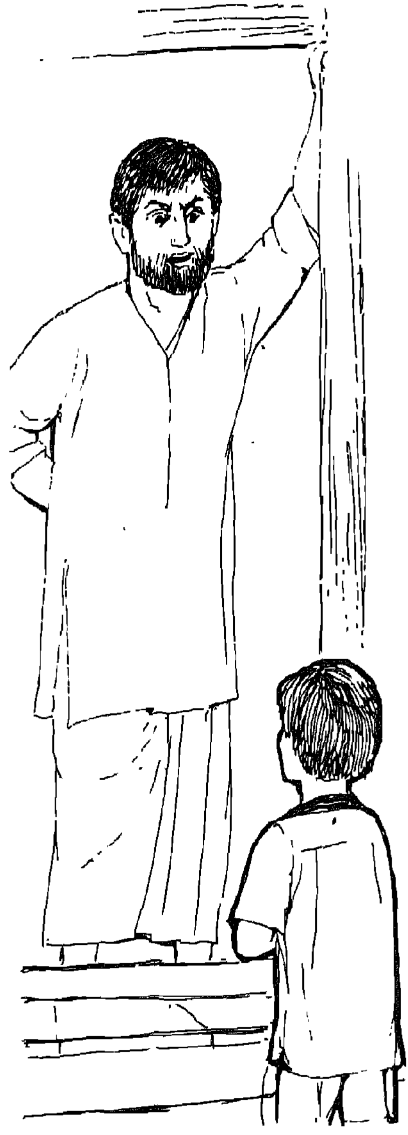
फक होकर खड़े तिम्मा रेड्डी के हाथ में डंडा देते समय करीम के चेहरे पर ऐसे

सेनापति का विजयोत्साह चमक रहा था जैसे हज़ार लड़ाइयाँ जीतकर आया हो।

इस प्रकार विजयी शेर की तरह करीम जब फूल रहा था तब उसके बाप ने फ़ैक्टरी के दरवाज़े पर खड़े होकर डाँटा, "बेवकूफ़, क्या कर रहा है वहाँ, फ़ैक्टरी आए बगैर?"

करीम की खुशी तभी गायब हुई। मीठा सपना देखते रहने वाला एक गरीब बेचारा सपने के टूटने पर जब जागता है तब उसको जीवन का विकराल स्वरूप दिखाई देता है। वही हालत करीम की भी थी। सुख से विहीन कारखाने के जीवन की याद करके वह डर से काँप उठा।

"अरे बेवकूफ़ यहाँ आ।" उसके बाप ने बुलाया। डरते-डरते करीम फ़ैक्टरी की सीढ़ियाँ चढ़कर दरवाज़े के पास गया। बाप गुस्से से जल रहा था। 'बेवकूफ़' कहकर उसने करीम के गाल पर ज़ोर से एक तमाचा मारा। करीम की आँखों से आँसू बह निकले। "लड़के के अविवेक के कारण उसके काम से परिवार को मिलने वाले कुछ पैसे न मिलें तो।" इस तरह की बात सोचने वाले पिता की दृष्टि पुत्र के आँसुओं की



ओर नहीं गई। उसने लड़के के आगे कुछ पत्ते और कैंची को फेंक दिया।

आँसू बहाते हुए करीम पत्ते कतरने लगा। बाहर खेलने वाले लड़कों की टोली से 'तुचीप, तुदांड तुंबद्—रेडी' की आवाज़ सुनाई देती थी।

यह आवाज़ सुनकर करीम का दिल बंधन में फँसे पंछी की तरह तड़पता रहा।

आँखों से आँसू लगातार बहते ही रहे। बाहर से लड़कों की आवाज़ बार-बार सुनाई पड़ती रही,

तुचीप, तुदांड, तुबद्—रेडी।

—अनु. गुरुनाथ जोशी

प्रश्न

1. गोली के खेल में जीतकर फैक्टरी जाते हुए करीम के मुख पर अचानक हँसी क्यों उमड़ पड़ी?
2. अपने साथी जनार्दन को पढ़ने के लिए जाते देखकर करीम को जलन क्यों हुई?
3. करीम की पढ़ाई और खेल क्यों छूट गया था?
4. करीम के चेहरे पर कब हज़ार लड़ाइयाँ जीतकर आने वाले सेनापति का सा उत्साह दिखलाई पड़ा?
5. 'बंधन का पंछी' कहानी के शीर्षक की उपयुक्तता पर विचार व्यक्त कीजिए।

8. बुआ जी

बुआ जी के बिना मेरी दुनिया सूनी। मेरे बिना बुआ जी अंधी। बुआ जी और मैं—बस, यही हमारी दुनिया थी।

जब पहले पहल मैंने बुआ जी को देखा अर्थात जबसे मैंने होश सँभाला—तभी वह बूढ़ी थीं। हाथ खुरदरे, पाँव लंबे, गाल पिचके, दाँत मज़बूत, बाल भूरे, चेहरे पर ऐसा नूर कि हर बात में उस चेहरेवाली का फ़ैसला अंतिम। जो भी फ़ैसला होता उस पर अडिग, उस पर अमल करने में एकदम स्थिर।

घर में एक काली गाय थी। उसे मिलाकर हम तीन प्राणी थे। हम तीनों की सेविका थी माली। इन चार प्राणियों की गाड़ी बुआ जी अकेली हाँकती थीं। उनके हाथ मज़बूत, टाँगें उनसे भी मज़बूत और दिल सबसे बढ़कर मज़बूत था। इसी से लोग उनकी कद्र करते थे। गाँववालों की गमी-खुशी में बुआ जी के सिवाय और कौन उनका साथ दे? वह थीं गाँव की बुआ!

पड़ोस में जच्चा को बुआ जी से काम पड़ता। किसी घर में बच्चे का चूड़ाकर्म है—बस, बुआ जी को बुलावा आता, क्योंकि उनके हाथ पकवान बनाने में पक्के थे।

बुआ जी की बात रसीली थी, हर बात में शहद टपकता था। लेकिन जब

वे रूठ जातीं, तब वे 'मारम्मा' (बच्चों को चेचक आदि से बचानेवाली ग्रामदेवी) बन जातीं।

मैं रात को बुआ जी से चिपट कर सोता था। बुआ जी मुझसे कहे बिना कहीं भी चली जातीं, तो मैं सारा आसमान सिर पर उठा लेता और 'बुआ', 'बुआ' की रट लगाए रहता। मुझे दुनिया-भर के लोग चुप कराते तब भी मैं न चुप होता। मगर बुआ जी की शीतल दृष्टि पड़ते ही मेरी आँखें मोती बरसाना छोड़ कर फूल बरसाने लगतीं।



घर की काली गाय, एकदम सीधी और भोली थी। वह अपने आप कहीं मैदान में जाकर हरी घास चरती और साँझ पड़े घर आती। आज द्वादशी है—बुआ

जी की निर्जला एकादशी के बाद द्वादशी आई है। बुआ जी के लिए आज द्वादशी है, मेरे लिए रोज द्वादशी है। बुआ जी सवेरे ही नहातीं, गाय पूजतीं, गौ-ग्रास खिलातीं, बाद में मुझे खिलातीं और फिर आप खातीं। द्वादशी का खाना शानदार और बड़ा ही स्वादिष्ट होता था। उस दिन अगसी की एक भाजी तो ज़रूर बनती। कभी आँवले की चटनी, कभी अगसी-फूल की कढ़ी, तिस पर कभी खीर, कभी गुड़ान्न बनता। दो भाजियों के बिना पारण कैसा? बुआ जी की हर एकादशी निर्जला और हर द्वादशी के दिन त्योहार होता।

गौ माता हमारे घर की देवी थी। मैं कभी-कभी उसके थन से दूध चूस लेता, फिर भी वह चुप रहती। वह कभी मुझे सींग नहीं मारती, चाहे मैं उसके पाँव तले होऊँ, पीठ पीछे या मुँह के आगे। वह गाय मुझको पहचानती थी। वह बुआ जी की आवाज़ का उत्तर देती।

गाय बुआ ज़ी की हाँ में हाँ मिलाती। उसकी आँखों में लक्ष्मी बसती और थन में अमृत। उसका नाम था 'काली'। काली को पाकर घर समृद्ध हो गया था। वह घर की संपत्ति थी। वह बुआ जी का एकमात्र सहारा थी और थी दूध पिलानेवाली मेरी माँ।

घर की नौकरानी 'माली' गाय की पीठ सहलाती। उसे घास खिलाती। ज्वार के डंठलों को काट-काट कर उसकी नाँद में डालती। पड़ोस की छाछ, पिछवाड़े की फली और बरसात की दूब पाकर गाय अघा जाती। वह रात को गोठ में पड़ी जुगाली करती रहती। सुबह सबसे पहले काली उठती, अपने 'अँबे-अँबे' (बाँ-बाँ) से बुआ जी को जगाती। बुआ जी मुझे जगातीं। हम दोनों नदी पर नहाने जाते। नदी से आते ही गाय दुही जाती और ताज़ा दूध मुझे पीने को मिलता। उसके दूध का वह स्वाद निराला था। उसका सोंधापन ही कुछ न्यारा था। उसके बाद काली को खोलकर घास चरने के लिए बाहर भेज दिया जाता।

एक दिन काली सुबह की गई साँझ को देर तक नहीं आई। गुहार हुई, खूब खोज की गई, पर कहीं पता न चला।

काली के जाने के कुछ दिन बाद माली की बारी आई। घर सूना हो गया। अब गाँव में बेसहारा रहा नहीं जाता था। हम लोग एडतोरे से मैसूर चले आए। मैं एडतोरे से मैसूर तक रेलगाड़ी से आया। 'भक-भक', 'भक-भक' करती चलती रेलगाड़ी को मैंने पहली बार देखा और यह मेरी पहली यात्रा थी। यह यात्रा भुलाए नहीं भूलती। मैसूर मेरे लिए गाँव के मुकाबले में लंदन था। मैसूर जाते हुए बीच में लक्ष्मणतीर्थ नदी का पुल पड़ता है। पुल पर रेलगाड़ी के चलते ही अजीब-सी गुदगुदी का अनुभव होता था। ऊपर आसमान नीचे जल, बीच में मैं, मेरे साथ जाने कितने यात्री थे। सबको बड़ी शान से रेलगाड़ी ने नदी पार करा दिया। 'सागरकट्टे' स्टेशन पहुँचते ही हमारी खुशी का ठिकाना नहीं रहा, क्योंकि हम नदी पार कर आए थे। नदी का पाट बड़ा विशाल था, अब तो और भी विशाल हो गया है। उसका जल लाल है। बाढ़ के मौसम में नदी का पानी रेल की पटरी के पास तक पहुँच जाता है। उसकी लहरें रेल की लाइन के बाँध पर थप-थप मारती हैं। नदी में पानी इतना जमा होता है, जैसे कोई छोटा सागर हो। इन दिनों और भी अधिक पानी जमा है। कृष्णराज सागर (वृंदावन) का बाँध बनने के बाद लक्ष्मणतीर्थ पुल के पास नदी का जल पहले से दोगुना हो गया है।

मैसूर स्टेशन पर मैंने देखा कि रेल की कई लाइनें बिछी हुई हैं। गाँव में घर के पास एक ही लाइन थी। मैंने उसे बनते देखा था। उस लाइन पर जब पहले-पहल रेलगाड़ी चली थी तब गाँव भर के लोग उसे देखने के लिए जमा हो गए थे। मुझे याद है कि पहले दिन इंजन को भी एक देवता समझ कर गाँव वालों ने उस पर नारियल चढ़ाया और प्रसाद बाँटा था।

बुआ जी मैसूर में आकर अधिक क्रियाशील हो गईं थीं। एक रुपए मासिक किराए पर घर लिया गया। घर क्या—एक कमरा था। घर के बीच का हिस्सा दो-तीन परिवारों का ड्राइंग रूम था। उसमें तीन-तीन परिवारों के बच्चे सोते थे।

बुआ जी अब अपने कमरे में सोती थीं, जहाँ रसोई पकाई जाती थी। मैं बाहर सोता था। अब तो मैं बड़ा हो गया और स्कूल जानें लगा था।

लोअर सेकेंडरी वर्ग (इन दिनों की सातवीं कक्षा) तक पहुँचते-पहुँचते हमारा घर बदला। चामुंडीपुरम् में छोटा-सा घर बनवाकर हम रहने लगे। बुआ जी को यह घर बहुत प्रिय था। इस घर में उन्होंने जिस दिन सत्यनारायण की पूजा कराई थी उस दिन घर में बहुत लोग आए थे। दिन भर खूब चहल-पहल रही। बुआ जी गोया निहाल हो गईं। उन्हें मानों इस झोंपड़ी में एक बँगला मिल गया हो।

घर में बुआ जी का राज था। वे सामने वाले घर के कुएँ से पानी भर कर लाती थीं। कपड़े धोतीं, पौधे सींचतीं, सारा घर धोतीं, रसोई पकातीं, मुझे नहलातीं। हर हफ़्ते तेल से मालिश करके गरम पानी से मुझे नहलातीं और खुद ठंडे पानी से नहातीं। मुझे दही देतीं, आप छाछ से संतुष्ट हो जातीं। मुझे थाली में खिलाया जाता, आप पत्तल पर खाती थीं। रसोई-घर में एक छोटा-सा पत्थर जमीन पर गड़ा हुआ था, कभी-कभी मैंने बुआ जी को उस पत्थर पर खाते देखा था, पत्तल की किफ़ायत जो होती थी। बुआ जी की अक्ल इतनी तेज थी कि कलशी भर पानी लाकर आँगन में धर देतीं। सूरज की किरणें उस पर पड़तीं। ग्यारह-बारह बजे तक वह पानी बहुत गरम हो जाता और उससे मुझे नहलाया जाता। घर में एरंडी के पौधे लगा रखे थे। बुआ जी उनके बीज़ बटोर कर लातीं, उनका तेल निकालकर उससे मेरी मालिश करतीं, ऐसा शुद्ध तेल तो आज देखने को भी नहीं मिलता। घर का घी, घर का तेल, घर की रसोई—इससे बढ़ कर

आनंददायक चीज़ें क्या हो सकती थीं? उनकी उपलब्धि बुआ जी की कृपा से हो जाती थी, जो आज अलभ्य हैं।

मैं एस. एस. एल. सी. परीक्षा में प्रथम श्रेणी में पास हो गया। राज्य भर में मेरा दूसरा स्थान था। बुआ जी को तो मानों जागीर मिल गई। वे इतनी प्रसन्न थीं कि घर-घर जाकर कहतीं कि मेरा बच्चा पूरे राज्य में प्रथम आया है। उन्हें देखते ही मेरा उत्साह बढ़ जाता था। घर में गरीबी का राज था, पर बुआ जी ने मुझे कभी इस बात का एहसास नहीं होने दिया कि हम लोग गरीब हैं। गरीबी बुआ जी के पल्ले, अमीरी मेरे भाग्य में। वे मानों मेरी भाग्य-विधाता थीं। वे घर में बराबर कहती रहती थीं, "यह गरीबी मेरे साथ जाती रहेगी, तुम राजा बनकर रहो। तुमको गरीबी क्यों सताए भला, मैं चली जाऊँगी। तुम मजे से रहो।" इस तरह बुआ जी मेरी ज़िंदगी में साया बन कर रहीं।

बुआ जी का आनंद उस समय चरम-सीमा पर पहुँच गया जब मेरा विवाह हुआ था। बहू को पाकर बुआ जी निहाल हो गईं। पत्नी के आने पर भी कई बरस तक बुआ जी ही रसोई का काम करती थीं। हाँ, पीछे चलकर एक जून पकाने का काम पत्नी के ज़िम्मे पड़ा।

घर में मेरी गैरहाज़िरी में अब तीन जने रहते थे—बुआ जी, मेरी पत्नी और एक कबरी बिल्ली। कबरी बिल्ली रोज़ खाने के बाद बुआ जी के सामने बैठ जाती। बुआ जी घंटों उससे बातें करती रहतीं। बुआ जी कभी गौरैया को चावल के दाने चुगातीं और कभी आराम से धूप सेंकती हुई बाहर बैठी रहतीं।

उन दिनों सवेरे-सवेरे सुनाई पड़ता था—"भज गोविंदौ, भज गोविंदौ, गोविंदौ भज मूढ़मते।"

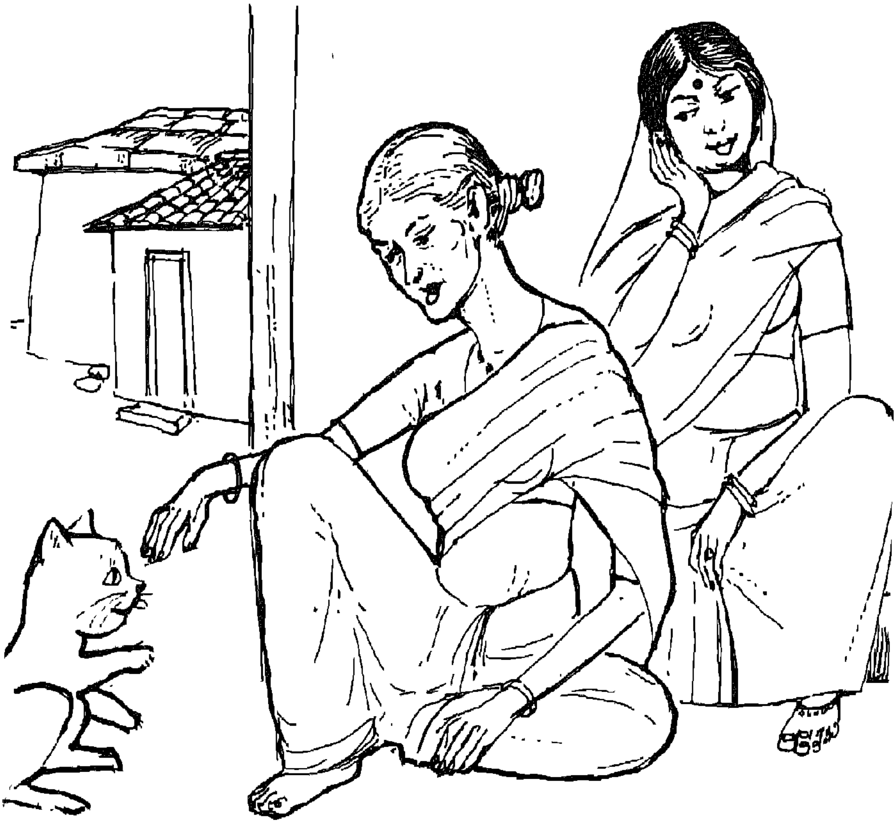
यह था बुआ जी का संस्कृत उच्चारण। वे रोज नियमित रूप से इसका पाठ करती थीं। वह कन्नड़ के न जाने कितने गीत गाती थीं। मेरा चौथा बच्चा उन्हें

इतना पसंद था कि उसका नाम उन्होंने 'सुंदर' रखा था। वह बच्चा हमेशा बुआ जी के सामने एक सूप में पड़ा रहता। उसकी चाँद-सी सूरत देखती-देखती न जाने बुआ जी कितने कन्नड़ गीत गातीं। काश वे गीत लिख लिए गए होते।

बुआ जी एक गीत बराबर गाया करती थीं :

"तारक्का बिंदिगे ना नीरिगे होगुवे तारे बिंदिगेया।"

(बहन, ला दे कलशी, मैं चली पानी भरने, ला री कलशी।)



यह कन्नड़ के प्रसिद्ध कृष्णभक्त कवि पुरंदरदास जी का गीत है। सारा गीत मेरे कानों में अभी भी गूँज रहा है।

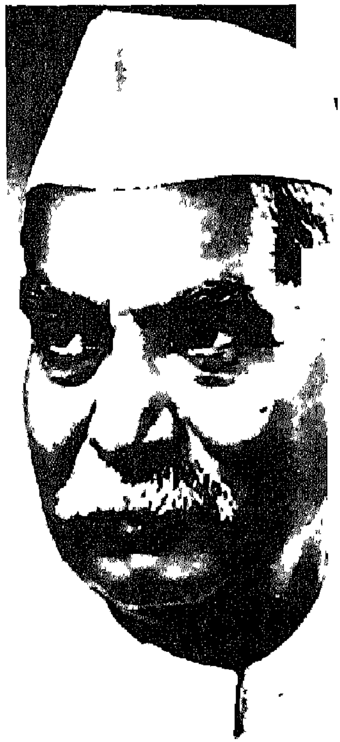
एकादशी के दिन शाम को बुआ जी की देह ठंडी पड़ गई। मुझे यकीन नहीं हुआ कि बुआ जी के प्राण चले जाएँगे। मैंने पड़ोस के दो-चार लोगों को बुला कर दिखाया। तब कहीं मैं मान सका कि सचमुच ही बुआ जी इस दुनिया में नहीं रहीं। मगर मेरे दिल में वे आज भी वैसी की वैसी बनी हुई हैं।

—ना. नागप्पा

प्रश्न

1. बुआ जी सारे गाँव की बुआ क्यों कहलाती थीं?
2. 'बुआ जी के लिए आज द्वादशी है, मेरे लिए रोज द्वादशी है।' लेखक ने ऐसा क्यों कहा?
3. लेखक, बुआ जी और काली गाय के आपसी संबंधों पर प्रकाश डालिए।
4. 'काली की आँखों में लक्ष्मी बसती और थन में अमृत।' इस कथन का आशय समझाइए।
5. लेखक और बुआ जी को एडतोरे छोड़कर मैसूर क्यों आना पड़ा?
6. लेखक ने अपनी पहली रेल-यात्रा का जो वर्णन किया है, उसे अपने शब्दों में लिखिए।
7. 'गरीबी बुआ जी के पल्ले, अमीरी मेरे भाग्य में।' इस कथन से बुआ जी के स्वभाव की किस विशेषता का पता चलता है?

9. श्रीलंका की यात्रा



मेरे घर की स्त्रियों की इच्छा हुई कि मद्रास (चेन्नई) कांग्रेस के समय उधर से ही वे तीर्थाटन भी करती आएँ, क्योंकि रामेश्वरजी वहाँ से करीब हैं। मेरे साथ भाई साहब की धर्मपत्नी, मेरी स्त्री और कई अन्य मित्रों के घर की महिलाएँ मद्रास गईं। जाने के समय हम लोग गोदावरी-स्नान के लिए राजमहेंद्री में ठहर गए थे। कांग्रेस के अधिवेशन के बाद मदुरै, रामेश्वरम् आदि तीर्थों में और लोगो के साथ गए। रामेश्वरजी के दर्शन के बाद हम लोग लंका चले गए। घर के लोगों को वहीं छोड़ दिया। लंका जाने की सुविधा यह भी थी कि उन दिनों श्री रामोदारदास जी वहाँ लानिया के एक महाविद्यालय में बौद्ध ग्रंथों का अध्ययन

कर रहे थे। उन्होंने कई बरसों तक छपरे में कांग्रेस का काम करके और कई बार जेल-यात्रा करने के बाद, बौद्ध ग्रंथों के अध्ययन के लिए वहाँ जाने का निश्चय किया था। उनको वहाँ संस्कृत पढ़ाने तथा पाली में त्रिपिटकादि ग्रंथों के अध्ययन का सुअवसर मिला। कुछ दिनों बाद बौद्ध धर्म में दीक्षित होकर वह श्री राहुल सांकृत्यायन के नाम से मशहूर हुए और भिक्षु हो गए। उस समय वह केवल अध्ययन कर रहे थे, बाज़ाब्ता भिक्षु नहीं बने थे।

जब हम लोग वहाँ गए, उन्होंने लंका के मुख्य-मुख्य स्थानों में हमें ले जाने का प्रबंध किया। हमने भाड़े पर एक लारी ली और कई दिनों तक वहाँ घूमते-फिरते रहे। यह हम लोगों के लिए पहला ही अवसर था कि उस सुंदर टापू में हम भ्रमण कर रहे थे। टापू की खूबसूरती और हरियाली ने हम लोगों को मुग्ध कर दिया। कंडी के सुंदर मंदिर में जाकर हमने दर्शन किए। वहाँ से नूरएलिया के पहाड़ पर जाकर एक रात बिताई। वहाँ से सीताएलिया गए। कहा जाता है कि यहाँ पर रावण ने श्री जानकीजी को कैद करके अशोक वाटिका में रखा था। वहाँ जाते समय एक विचित्र चीज हम लोगों ने देखी। सीताएलिया नूरएलिया से कुछ दूर है। नूरएलिया पहाड़ की चोटी पर है और सीताएलिया पहाड़ के नीचे है। इसके चारों ओर पहाड़ हैं। ऐसा मालूम होता है कि प्रकृति ने मानो एक कटोरा बना दिया है, जिसकी दीवारें पहाड़ की हैं और जिसके पेंदे में एक छोटा-सा झरना है। वहीं एक छोटा मंदिर-सा है जहाँ श्री जानकीजी कैद की गई थीं। पहाड़ से उतरने में मोटर को कई बार चक्कर लगाना पड़ता है। उतरते समय हमने देखा कि कुछ दूर तक चारों तरफ़ फैला हुआ रक्तापोश का जंगल है। पहाड़ काटकर जो सड़क बनी थी उसकी बगल में दीवार की तरह पहाड़ खड़ा था। उस दीवार में कई तरह की मिट्टी या पत्थर देखने में आते

थे। उसमें एक तह, जो प्रायः दो-तीन फुट चौड़ी थी, ऐसी मिट्टी की थी जो बिलकुल राख जैसी थी। हमने इस मिट्टी को खोदकर देखा। ऐसा मालूम होता था कि जैसे ऊपर-नीचे पथरीली मिट्टी की तह है और बीच में एक तह राख की है। अशोक के पत्ते और राख हम अपने साथ भी लाए थे। इनको देखकर रामायण में वर्णित अशोक वाटिका और हनुमान जी द्वारा लंका के जलाए जाने की बात याद आ गई।

अनेक स्थानों को—जिनमें एक सुंदर गुफा थी जिसमें बहुत प्राचीन, पर सुंदर चित्र बने थे—देखते हुए हम लोग अनुराधपुर पहुँचे। यहाँ पर एक बहुत बड़ा स्तूप है। कहा जाता है कि अशोक के पुत्र महेंद्र ने, यहीं पर आकर, गया से लाई हुई महाबोधि वृक्ष की एक शाखा लगाई थी। हम लोग वहाँ रात में नौ बजे के करीब पहुँचे थे। पीपल के एक वृक्ष के पास बौद्धों की धार्मिक सभा हो रही थी। उसमें एक भिक्षु कुछ उपदेश कर रहे थे। दृश्य बहुत ही सुंदर था। हृदय पर उसका बहुत असर पड़ा। हम उपदेश को समझ तो न सके, पर वहाँ बैठी हुई श्रोतामंडली बीच-बीच में जो 'साधु ! साधु !' कह उठती थी उसे हम समझ सके। लोगों ने बताया कि पीपल का वह वृक्ष वही है, जिसे महेंद्र ने लाकर वहाँ लगाया था। यों तो बोधगया में भी जो महाबोधि वृक्ष है वह भी उस समय का नहीं है, पर उसी स्थान पर उसी वृक्ष का वंशज है। उसी तरह अनुराधपुर का महाबोधि वृक्ष भी महेंद्र का ही लगाया हुआ नहीं है, उसका वंशज है जो उसी स्थान पर आज तक किसी-न-किसी तरह से कायम है। पर इससे भी अधिक चमत्कार और आश्चर्य की बात हमको यह सुनाई गई कि वहाँ जो दीप जल रहा था वह भी महेंद्र का जलाया हुआ है। उस समय से आज तक वह दीप कभी बुझा नहीं है। बौद्धों ने उसे बाईस-तेईस सौ बरसों से बराबर जलाए रखा

है। यदि यह सच है तो शायद दुनिया में ऐसी कोई दूसरी अग्निशिखा न मिलेगी जो दो हज़ार बरसों से भी ज़्यादा समय से बराबर जलती आ रही हो।

सीलोन (श्रीलंका) की यात्रा समाप्त करके हम लोग रामेश्वरजी लौटे। वहाँ से परिवार के लोगों को लेकर, जिन तीर्थस्थानों में पहली बार न जा सके थे उनमें होते हुए छपरा वापस आए।

—राजेंद्र प्रसाद

प्रश्न

1. श्री रामोदारदास जी किस प्रकार श्री राहुल सांकृत्यायन के नाम से विख्यात हुए?
2. सीताएलिया का क्या महत्त्व है?
3. सीताएलिया और नूरएलिया के प्राकृतिक सौंदर्य का वर्णन कीजिए।
4. रामायण में वर्णित अशोक वाटिका और हनुमान जी द्वारा लंका के जलाए जाने की पुष्टि किस बात से होती है?
5. श्रीलंका में अनुराधपुर की प्रसिद्धि का क्या कारण है?।



10. खिलाफ़त आंदोलन : कराची का ऐतिहासिक मुकदमा

प्रथम विश्वयुद्ध 1918 ई. में समाप्त हुआ। इस युद्ध में भारत ने अंग्रेज़ों का समर्थन किया था, पर यह माँग की थी कि युद्ध की समाप्ति पर ब्रिटिश सरकार उसे स्वशासन का अधिकार देगी। युद्ध में विजयी होने पर ब्रिटिश सरकार ने भारत की यह माँग स्वीकार नहीं की। वह और भी दमनात्मक कार्रवाई करने लगी। इस पर गांधी जी ने विदेशी सरकार के विरुद्ध असहयोग आंदोलन आरंभ कर दिया।

भारत की आज़ादी की लड़ाई में इस असहयोग आंदोलन का एक विशेष स्थान है। प्रथम विश्वयुद्ध के बाद भारत के राष्ट्रीय संघर्ष का यह पहला महान जन-आंदोलन था। इसमें लाखों की संख्या में आम जनता ने भाग लिया और विदेशी शासन को चुनौती दी। इस आंदोलन के नेता महात्मा गांधी थे। इसके दौरान भारतीयों ने विदेशी अदालतों, विद्यालयों इत्यादि का बहिष्कार किया और विदेशी शासन के विरोध में जेल जाना स्वीकार किया। इस आंदोलन की एक मुख्य विशेषता थी, हिंदू-मुस्लिम एकता।

तुर्की के सुल्तान को दुनिया के मुसलमानों का खलीफ़ा (धार्मिक मुखिया)

समझा जाता था। खिलाफ़त शब्द इसी से निकला है। प्रथम विश्वयुद्ध के दौरान तुर्की ब्रिटेन के शत्रु देशों में से था। युद्ध के दिनों में ब्रिटिश सरकार ने तुर्की के खलीफ़ा का अधिकार बनाए रखने का आश्वासन दिया था परंतु जब युद्ध समाप्त हुआ तो तुर्की के अधीन क्षेत्रों को तो अलग कर ही दिया गया, स्वयं तुर्की के कई भागों पर विजयी देशों ने अपना अधिकार जमा लिया। तुर्की के प्रति इस अन्याय से भारत के मुसलमानों में बड़ी तीव्र प्रतिक्रिया हुई। उन्होंने अंग्रेज़ों का विरोध करने के लिए 'खिलाफ़त कमेटी' नाम की संस्था बना कर आंदोलन प्रारंभ कर दिया। इस आंदोलन के प्रमुख नेता अलीबंधु (मुहम्मद अली और शौकत अली) और मौलाना अबुल कलाम आज़ाद थे। इस आंदोलन को गांधी जी का भी समर्थन प्राप्त था। इस प्रकार गांधी जी के द्वारा आरंभ किया गया असहयोग आंदोलन और खिलाफ़त आंदोलन दोनों परस्पर मिल गए। देश में राष्ट्रीय एकता का एक नया वातावरण बन गया। मुसलमानों ने स्वामी श्रद्धानंद को दिल्ली की जामामस्ज़िद में भाषण के लिए आमंत्रित किया। सिक्खों ने अमृतसर के स्वर्ण मंदिर की चाबी डॉ. सैफुद्दीन किचलू को सौंप दी।

असहयोग आंदोलन के दौरान अखिल भारतीय खिलाफ़त कमेटी का एक अधिवेशन 9 जुलाई, 1921 को कराची में हुआ। इस अधिवेशन में निम्नलिखित प्रस्ताव पारित किया गया—"यह सम्मेलन घोषित करता है कि मुसलमान आज से अंग्रेज़ सरकार की फ़ौज में भर्ती नहीं होंगे। भर्ती में न तो किसी तरह की सहायता करेंगे और न मौन स्वीकृति ही देंगे। यदि अंग्रेज सरकार खुलकर या गुप्त रूप से तुर्की की खलीफ़ा सरकार के विरुद्ध युद्ध करती है तो भारत के मुसलमान उसके विरुद्ध सविनय अवज्ञा आंदोलन शुरू कर देंगे। वे भारतीय राष्ट्रीय कांग्रेस के आगामी अहमदाबाद अधिवेशन में पूर्ण स्वतंत्रता की घोषणा कर देंगे और भारतीय गणतंत्र का झंडा फहरा देंगे।"

श्री आर वी थधानी की अनुमति से



श्री शकराचार्य

मौलाना शौकत अली डॉ किचलू मौलाना मोहम्मद अली

अंग्रेज़ सरकार ने कराची अधिवेशन के इस प्रस्ताव को राजद्रोह घोषित कर दिया। इसमें सम्मिलित शौकतअली, भारती कृष्णतीर्थ जी (शारदापीठ के

शंकराचार्य), मौलवी निसार अहमद, पीर गुलाम मुजादीद, मौलवी हुसैन अहमद, डॉ. सैफुद्दीन क़िचलू, मोहम्मद अली आदि को गिरफ़्तार कर लिया गया और कराची की अदालत में उन पर मुकदमा चलाया गया। इस मुकदमें के अवसर पर इन नेताओं ने कचहरी में मजिस्ट्रेट के प्रश्नों के जो उत्तर दिए वे उनकी देशभक्ति, स्वातंत्र्य प्रेम, निर्भीकता, आत्मसम्मान और अंग्रेज़ी सरकार की अवहेलना के द्योतक हैं।

अदालत में पूछे गए कुछ प्रश्न और नेताओं द्वारा दिए गए उनके उत्तर इस प्रकार हैं :

शारदापीठ के शंकराचार्य श्री भारती कृष्णतीर्थ जी से पूछे गए प्रश्न और उनके उत्तर

मजिस्ट्रेट : 9 जुलाई, 1921 को कराची में हुए अखिल भारतीय खिलाफ़त अधिवेशन में आप उपस्थित थे?

(शंकराचार्य जी ने खड़े होने और प्रश्नों का उत्तर देने से इनकार कर दिया)

मजिस्ट्रेट : कृपया खड़े हो जाइए और प्रश्नों का उत्तर दीजिए।

शंकराचार्य : हमारे धर्मग्रंथों में संन्यास के नियमों के अनुसार अपने गुरु के अतिरिक्त और किसी मनुष्य के आगे हम खड़े नहीं हो सकते। मैं संन्यासी हूँ और हम संन्यासी चाहे हमें जेल में डाल दिए जाएँ, चाहे हमारा सिर काट लिया जाए, संन्यास के नियमों का उल्लंघन नहीं कर सकते। क्या कोई ऐसा नियम है जिसके अनुसार यदि मैं इस केस के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहूँ, तो मुझे खड़ा होना ही पड़ेगा?

मजिस्ट्रेट : यह मेरी आज्ञा है।

मोहम्मद अली बीच में बोले—"मिस्टर मजिस्ट्रेट! आप क्यों किसी संन्यासी को जानबूझ कर उसके धर्म के नियमों के विरुद्ध आचरण करने के लिए बाध्य कर रहे हैं? क्या यह आपको शोभा देगा? आपका भी अपना धर्म है जिसका आप सम्मान करते हैं।"

डॉ. सैफुद्दीन किचलू से पूछे गए प्रश्न और उनके उत्तर

मजिस्ट्रेट : क्या आपको अपने विरोध में दी गई गवाही के बारे में कुछ कहना है?

(डॉ किचलू ने अंग्रेज़ी जानने के बावजूद उंर्दू के अतिरिक्त किसी अन्य भाषा में बयान देने से इनकार कर दिया।)

मजिस्ट्रेट : 9 जुलाई 1921 को कराची के खिलाफ़त कमेटी के अधिवेशन में आप उपस्थित थे?

किचलू : मैं इस प्रश्न का उत्तर नहीं देना चाहता।

मजिस्ट्रेट : क्या आप अधिवेशन के प्रस्ताव के समर्थन में बोले थे?

किचलू : मैं इस प्रश्न का उत्तर नहीं देना चाहता।

मजिस्ट्रेट : क्या उस अधिवेशन में सरकार के विरुद्ध कोई प्रस्ताव पारित किया गया था?

किचलू : मैं इस प्रश्न का उत्तर नहीं देना चाहता।

श्री शौकतअली से पूछे गए प्रश्न और उनके उत्तर

मजिस्ट्रेट : क्या आप कराची के खिलाफ़त अधिवेशन में उपस्थित थे?

शौकतअली : अब तक कोई ऐसी आल इंडिया खिलाफ़त कांफ्रेंस नहीं हुई जिसमें मैं उपस्थित न रहा हूँ।

मजिस्ट्रेट : उस कांफ्रेंस में सरकार के विरुद्ध जो प्रस्ताव पारित किया गया था, क्या आपने उसका समर्थन किया?

शौकतअली : मैंने उसका समर्थन किया और मैं अब भी उसमें कही हुई सभी बातों को मानता हूँ। मुझे केवल इस बात का खेद है कि मैं कराची अधिवेशन में इस प्रस्ताव के पक्ष में कुछ भी नहीं बोला, हालाँकि मैंने खिलाफ़त के विषय में सैकड़ों भाषण भारत में सब जगह दिए हैं।

मजिस्ट्रेट : क्या आप और कुछ कहना चाहते हैं?

शौकतअली : हाँ, मैं बहुत कुछ कहे जा रहा हूँ, मगर आप सिर्फ़ वही बात लिख रहे हैं जिसे आप इस मुकदमें के लिए ज़रूरी समझते हैं। मैंने अंग्रेज़ी अदालतों पर कभी विश्वास नहीं किया। मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि रंगमंच के नाटक इन अदालतों से कहीं अधिक अच्छे होते हैं। हम सभी हिंदुओं, मुसलमानों, पारसियों और देश के अन्य सभी वर्गों का सचमुच दुर्भाग्य है कि हमारा संबंध इस सरकार से है।

मजिस्ट्रेट : मैं यहाँ आपका भाषण सुनने के लिए नहीं बैठा हूँ।

शौकतअली : तो आप मुझे फाँसी पर चढ़ा दीजिए। मैं सैकड़ों भाषण दे चुका हूँ। आपको भाषण देने की मुझे कोई ज़रूरत नहीं है।

मजिस्ट्रेट : आप सरकार को खुलेआम गालियाँ दे रहे हैं और केवल राजनीतिक बातें कर रहे हैं।

शौकतअली : इतने दिनों से आप हम सबको गालियाँ दे रहे हैं और यही आपका सरकारी वकील भी कर रहा है।

मोहम्मद अली : (बीच में बोलते हुए) मजिस्ट्रेट! क्या आपको ईश्वर में विश्वास नहीं है? क्या आप कानून में विश्वास नहीं करते? क्या आपका अपना कोई धर्म नहीं है? क्या आप हमें यह बताने देंगे कि इस्लाम के नियम क्या हैं?

मजिस्ट्रेट : आप बैठ जाइए।

मोहम्मद अली : मैं नहीं बैठ सकता।

मजिस्ट्रेट : मैं आपसे फिर कहता हूँ आप बैठ जाइए।

मोहम्मद अली : मैं नहीं बैठता। आप अपनी पुलिस या फ़ौज को मुझे बैठने के लिए बुलाइए। क्या ऐसा कोई नियम है जिसके अनुसार आप मुझे बैठने के लिए बाध्य कर सकते हैं?

(तभी पुलिस अधिकारी आया और उसने मोहम्मद अली से बैठने के लिए कहा, परंतु वे नहीं बैठे। लेकिन पुलिस अधिकारी के चले जाने के बाद वे स्वयं बैठ गए)

मजिस्ट्रेट : अगर आप इस तरह दबाव डालेंगे तो मैं आपको इसकी अनुमति नहीं दे सकता।

शौकतअली : यह क्या दबाव है? मुझे न बोलने देकर आप हमारे विश्वास का अपमान कर रहे हैं। मैं क्या कर सकता हूँ? आप यहाँ किस लिए हैं? आप सिर्फ ग्रामोफोन के रिकार्ड बने हुए हैं। मैं अपने मुकदमें के बारे में बोल रहा हूँ। अब मैं इस नतीजे

पर पहुँचा हूँ कि यह सरकार एक मज़ाक है। धिक्कार है इस अदालत को, धिक्कार है इस सरकार को, धिक्कार है इस पूरे दिखावे को, इस पूरी कार्रवाई को!

(मुकदमें के अंत में सभी नेताओं को राजद्रोह का अपराधी घोषित किया गया।)

—निरंजन कुमार सिंह

प्रश्न

1. खिलाफ़त आंदोलन क्या था और वह गांधी जी के असहयोग आंदोलन से कैसे जुड़ गया?
2. कराची अधिवेशन में क्या प्रस्ताव पारित हुआ?
3. कराची प्रस्ताव का क्या परिणाम हुआ?
4. शंकराचार्य कृष्णतीर्थ जी ने क्या कहकर मजिस्ट्रेट की आज्ञा का उल्लंघन किया?
5. अदालत में दिए गए शौकतअली के बयान से उनके किन विचारों का पता चलता है?

11. अंधेर नगरी : चौपट राजा
टके सेर भाजी टके सेर खाजा

(प्रस्तुत पाठ आधुनिक हिंदी गद्य के प्रवर्तक भारतेंदु हरिश्चंद्र की लघु नाटिका 'अंधेर नगरी : चौपट राजा' का संक्षिप्त रूप है। इसमें लेखक ने तत्कालीन भारतीय राजनीतिक और सामाजिक व्यवस्था की उस विवेकहीनता को उजागर किया है, जिसके अंतर्गत अच्छे-बुरे, छोटे-बड़े, पापी-पुण्यात्मा, योग्य-अयोग्य आदि में कोई अंतर नहीं किया जाता। फलस्वरूप, समूची व्यवस्था विनाश को प्राप्त होती है। भाषा में बोलचाल के शब्दों का प्रयोग हुआ है और शैली बड़ी ही रोचक, हास्य एवं व्यंग्यपूर्ण है।)

पहला अंक

स्थान—बाह्य प्रांत

(महंत जी दो चेलों के साथ गाते हुए आते हैं)

सब : राम भजो राम भजो राम भजो भाई।
राम के भजे से गनिका तर गई,
राम के भजे से गीध गति पाई।

राम के नाम से काम बनै सब,
राम के भजनु बिनु सबहि नसाई।
राम के नाम से दोनों नयन बिनु,
सूरदास भए कविकुलराई।।

महंत : बच्चा नारायणदास, यह नगर तो दूर से बड़ा सुंदर दिखलाई पड़ता है! देख, कुछ भिच्छा-उच्छा मिले तो ठाकुरजी को भोग लगे।

नारायण : गुरुजी महाराज, नगर तो नारायण के आसरे से बहुत ही सुंदर है पर भिक्षा सुंदर मिले तो बड़ा आनंद होय।

महंत : बच्चा गोबरधनदास, तू पच्छिम की ओर जा और नारायणदास पूरब की ओर जाएगा। देख, जो कुछ सीधा-सामग्री मिले तो श्री शालाग्रामजी का बालभोग सिद्ध हो।

गोबरधन : गुरुजी, मैं बहुत-सी भिच्छा लाता हूँ। यहाँ के लोग तो बड़े मालदार दिखलाई पड़ते हैं। आप कुछ चिंता मत कीजिए।

महंत : बच्चा, बहुत लोभ मत करना। देखना, हाँ :
लोभ पाप को मूल है, लोभ मिटावत मान।
लोभ कभी नहीं कीजिए, यामैं नरक निदान।

(गाते हुए सब जाते हैं)

दूसरा अंक

स्थान—बाज़ार

घासीराम : चने जोर गरम—
चने बनावें घासीराम। जिनकी झोली में दुकान।।
चना चुरमुर चुरमुर बोले। बाबू खाने को मुँह खोले।।
चना खावे तोकी मैना। बोले अच्छा बना चबेना।।
चना खाए गफूरन मुन्ना। बोलें और नहीं कुछ सुन्ना।।
चने जोर गरम—टके सेर।

नारंगीवाली : नारंगी ले नारंगी—सिलहट की नारंगी, बुटवल की नारंगी। रामबाग की नारंगी, आनंदबाग की नारंगी। दोनों हाथों लो—नहीं पीछे हाथ ही मलते रहोगे। नारंगी ले नारंगी। टके सेर नारंगी।

हलवाई : जलेबियाँ गरमागरम। ले सेव, इमरती, लड्डू, गुलाबजामुन, खुरमा, बुँदिया, बरफ़ी, समोसा, पेड़ा, कचौड़ी, दालमोठ, पकौड़ी, घेवर, गुपचुप। हलुआ ले हलुआ मोहनभोग। जो खाय सो भी पछताय, जो न खाय सो भी पछताय। रेवड़ी कड़ाका। पापड़ पड़ाका। सब समान ताजा। खाजा ले खाजा। टके सेर खाजा।

कुँजड़िन : ले धनिया, मेथी, सोआ-पालक, चौराई-बथुआ, चना, सरसों का साग, ले बैंगन, लौकी, कोंहड़ा, आलू, अरुई, तरोई, मुरई। ले आदी, मिरचा, लहसुन, पियाज, टिकोरा। ले फालसा, खिरनी, आम, अमरूद, निंबुआ, मटर। जैसे काजी, वैसे पाजी। रैयत राजी, टके सेर भाजी।

मेवावाला : बादाम, पिस्ते, अखरोट, अनार, मुनक्का, किशमिश, अंजीर,

आलूबोखारा, चिलगोज़ा, सेब, नाशपाती, अंगूर का पिटारी। हमारा ऐसा मुल्क जिसमें अंग्रेज़ का भी दाँत खट्टा हो गया। ले सब मेवा टके सेर।

पाचकवाला : चूरन अमलबेध का भारी। जिसको खाते कृष्ण मुरारी।।
मेरा पाचक है पचलोना। जिसको खाता श्याम सलोना।।
चूरन बना मसालेदार। जिसमें खट्टे की बहार।।
मेरा चूरन जो कोई खाय। मुझको छोड़ कहीं नहिं जाय।।
चूरन खाते लाला लोग। जिनको अकिल अजीरन रोग।।
चूरन खावें एडिटर जात। जिनके पेट पचे नहिं बात।।
चूरन साहेब लोग जो खाता। सारा हिंद हजम कर जाता।।
चूरन पुलिस वाले खाते। सब कानून हजम कर जाते।।
ले चूरन का ढेर, बेचा टके सेर।

जातवाला : जात ले जात, टके सेर जात। एक टका दो, हम अभी अपनी जात बेचते हैं। टके के वास्ते धर्म और प्रतिष्ठा दोनों बेचें, टके के वास्ते झूठी गवाही दें। टके के वास्ते पाप को पुण्य मानें, टके के वास्ते नीच को भी पितामह बनावें। लुटाय दिया अनमोल माल, ले टके सेर।

बनिया : आटा, दाल, लकड़ी, नमक, घी, चीनी, मसाला, चावल, ले टके सेर।

(बाबाजी का चेला गोबरधनदास आता है और सब बेचनेवालों की आवाज सुन-सुनकर खाने के आनंद में बड़ा प्रसन्न होता है।)

गोबरधन : क्यों भाई बनिए, आटा कितने सेर?

बनिया : टके सेर।

गोबरधन : और चावल?

बनिया : टके सेर।

गोबरधन : और चीनी?

बनिया : टके सेर।

गोबरधन : और घी?

बनिया : टके सेर।

गोबरधन : सब टके सेर। सचमुच।

बनिया : हाँ महाराज, क्या झूठ बोलूँगा?

गोबरधन : (कुँजड़िन के पास जाकर) क्यों माई, भाजी क्या भाव?

कुँजड़िन : बाबाजी, टके सेर। लौकी, आलू, धनियाँ, मिरचा, साग सब टके सेर।

गोबरधन : सब भाजी टके सेर। वाह-वाह! बड़ा आनंद है। यहाँ सभी चीजें टके सेर। (हलवाई के पास जाकर) क्यों भाई हलवाई ? मिठाई टके सेर?

हलवाई : हाँ, बाबाजी, सचमुच सब टके सेर। इस नगरी की चाल ही यही है। यहाँ सब चीज टके सेर बिकती है।

गोबरधन : क्यों बच्चा! इस नगरी का नाम क्या है?

हलवाई : अंधेर नगरी।

गोबरधन : और राजा का क्या नाम है?

हलवाई : चौपट राजा।

गोबरधन : वाह! वाह! अंधेर नगरी चौपट राजा, टके सेर भाजी, टके सेर खाजा। (यही गाता है और आनंद से बगल बजाता है)

हलवाई : तो बाबाजी, कुछ लेना-देना हो तो लो-दो।

गोबरधन : बच्चा, भिक्षा माँगकर सात पैसे लाया हूँ, साढ़े तीन सेर मिठाई दे दे, गुरु-चेले सब आनंदपूर्वक इतने में छक जाएँगे।
(हलवाई मिठाई तोलता है—बाबाजी मिठाई लेकर खाते हुए और अंधेर नगरी ..., गाते हुए जाते हैं)

(यवनिका गिरती है)

तीसरा अंक

स्थान—जंगल

(महंतजी और नारायणदास एक ओर से 'राम भजो'
और दूसरी ओर से गोबरधनदास 'अंधेर नगरी' गाते हुए आते हैं)

महंत : बच्चा गोबरधनदास! कह, क्या भिक्षा लाया? गठरी तो भारी मालूम पड़ती है।

गोबरधन : बाबाजी महाराज! बड़ा माल लाया हूँ, साढ़े तीन सेर मिठाई है।

महंत : देखूँ बच्चा! (मिठाई की झोली अपने सामने रखकर खोलकर देखता है) वाह! वाह! बच्चा इतनी मिठाई कहाँ से लाया? किस धर्मात्मा से भेंट हुई?



गोबरधन : गुरुजी महाराज! सात पैसे भीख में मिले थे, उसी से इतनी मिठाइ मोल ली है।

महंत : बच्चा! नारायणदास ने मुझसे कहा था कि यहाँ सब चीज टके सेर मिलती है, तो मैंने इसकी बात का विश्वास नहीं किया। बच्चा, यह कौन-सी नगरी है और इसका कौन-सा राजा है, जहाँ टके सेर भाजी और टके सेर खाजा है?

गोबरधन : अंधेर नगरी चौपट राजा, टके सेर भाजी टके सेर खाजा।

महंत : तो बच्चा! ऐसी नगरी में रहना उचित नहीं है, जहाँ टके सेर भाजी और टके ही सेर खाजा हो।

दोहा

सेत सेत सब एक से, जहाँ कपूर कपास।
ऐसे देस कुदेस में, कबहुँ न कीजै बास।।

सो बच्चा चलो यहाँ से। ऐसी अंधेर नगरी में हज़ार मन मिठाई मुफ़्त की मिले तो किस काम की? यहाँ एक क्षण नहीं रहना।

गोबरधन : गुरुजी, ऐसा तो संसार भर में कोई देश ही नहीं है। दो पैसा पास रहने से ही मज़े में पेट भरता है। मैं तो इस नगर को छोड़कर नहीं जाऊँगा। और जगह दिन भर माँगो तो भी पेट नहीं भरता। बाजे-बाजे दिन तो उपवास ही करना पड़ता है। सो मैं तो यहीं रहूँगा।

महंत : देख बच्चा, पीछे पछताएगा।

गोबरधन : आपकी कृपा से कोई दुख न होगा, मैं तो यही कहता हूँ कि आप भी यहीं रहिए।

महंत : मैं तो इस नगर में एक क्षण भर नहीं रहूँगा। देख, मेरी बात

मान, नहीं पीछे पछताएगा। मैं तो जाता हूँ, पर इतना कहे जाता हूँ कि कभी संकट पड़े तो हमारा स्मरण करना।

गोबरधन : प्रणाम गुरुजी, मैं आपका नित्य ही स्मरण करूँगा। मैं तो फिर भी कहता हूँ कि आप भी यहीं रहिए।

(महंत जी नारायणदास के साथ जाते हैं, गोबरधनदास बैठकर मिठाई खाता है)

(यवनिका गिरती है)

चौथा अंक

स्थान—राजसभा

(राजा, मंत्री, और नौकर लोग यथास्थान स्थित हैं)

(दो नौकर एक फ़रियादी को पकड़ लाते हैं)

फ़रियादी : दोहाई है महाराज, दोहाई है। हमारा न्याय होय।

राजा : चुप रहो। तुम्हारा न्याय यहाँ ऐसा होगा कि जैसा यम के यहाँ भी न होगा—बोलो क्या हुआ?

फ़रियादी : महाराज! कल्लू बनियाँ की दीवार गिर पड़ी सो मेरी बकरी उसके नीचे दब गई। दोहाई है महाराज, न्याय हो।

राजा : (नौकर से) कल्लू बनिए की दीवार को पकड़ लाओ।

मंत्री : महाराज, दीवार नहीं लाई जा सकती।

राजा : अच्छा, उसका भाई, लड़का, दोस्त जो हो उसको पकड़ लाओ।

मंत्री : महाराज। दीवार ईंट-चूने की होती है, उसका भाई-बेटा नहीं होता।

राजा : अच्छा, कल्लू बनिए को पकड़ लाओ। (नौकर लोग दौड़ कर बनिए को पकड़ लाते हैं) क्यों बे बनिए! बकरी क्यों दबकर मर गई?

कल्लू : महाराज! मेरा कुछ दोष नहीं। कारीगर ने ऐसी दीवार बनाई कि गिर पड़ी।

राजा : अच्छा, इस कल्लू को छोड़ दो, कारीगर को पकड़ लाओ। (कल्लू जाता है, लोग कारीगर को पकड़कर लाते हैं) क्यों बे कारीगर! इसकी बकरी किस तरह मर गई?

कारीगर : महाराज, मेरा कुछ कसूर नहीं, चूनेवाले ने ऐसा चूना बनाया कि दीवार गिर पड़ी।

राजा : अच्छा, इस कारीगर को निकालो, उस चूनेवाले को बुलाओ। (कारीगर निकाला जाता है, चूनेवाला पकड़कर लाया जाता है) क्यों बे खैर-सुपारी चूनेवाले! इसकी बकरी कैसे मर गई?

चूनेवाला : महाराज! मेरा कुछ दोष नहीं, भिश्ती ने चूने में ढेर-सा पानी दे दिया, इसी से चूना कमज़ोर हो गया होगा।

राजा : अच्छा, चूनेवाले को निकालो, भिश्ती को पकड़ो। (चूनेवाला निकाला जाता है, भिश्ती लाया जाता है) क्यों बे भिश्ती! गंगा-जमुना की किश्ती! इतना पानी क्यों दिया कि इसकी बकरी गिर पड़ी और दीवार दब गई?

भिश्ती : महाराज! गुलाम का कोई कसूर नहीं, कसाई ने मसक इतनी बड़ी बना दी कि उसमें पानी ज़्यादा आ गया।



राजा : अच्छा, कसाई को लाओ, भिश्ती को निकालो (लोग भिश्ती को निकालते हैं, कसाई को लाते हैं) क्यों बे कसाई! मशक ऐसी क्यों बनाई कि दीवार लगाई बकरी दबाई?

कसाई : महाराज! गड़ेरिया ने टके पर ऐसी बड़ी भेड़ मेरे हाथ बेची कि उसकी मशक बड़ी बन गई।

राजा : अच्छा, कसाई को निकालो, गड़ेरिए को लाओ। (कसाई निकाला जाता है, गड़ेरिया आता है) क्यों बे गड़ेरिए, ऐसी बड़ी भेड़ क्यों बेची कि बकरी मर गई?

गड़ेरिया : महाराज! उधर से कोतवाल साहब की सवारी आई, सो उसके देखने में मैंने छोटी-बड़ी भेड़ का ख्याल नहीं किया, मेरा कुछ कसूर नहीं।

राजा : अच्छा, इसको निकालो, कोतवाल को अभी पकड़ लाओ। (गड़ेरिया निकाला जाता है, कोतवाल को पकड़कर लाते हैं) क्यों बे कोतवाल! तैने सवारी ऐसी धूम से क्यों निकाली कि गड़ेरिए

ने घबड़ाकर बड़ी भेड़ बेची, जिससे बकरी गिरकर कल्लू बनियाँ दब गाया?

कोतवाल : महाराज, महाराज! मैंने तो कोई कसूर नहीं किया, मैं तो शहर के इंतजाम के वास्ते जाता था।

मंत्री : (आप ही आप) यह तो बड़ा गज़ब हुआ, ऐसा न हो कि यह बेवकूफ़ इस बात पर सारे नगर को फूँक दे या फाँसी दे। (कोतवाल से) यह नहीं, तुमने ऐसे धूम से सवारी क्यों निकाली?

राजा : हाँ, हाँ, यह नहीं, तुमने ऐसे धूम से सवारी क्यों निकाली कि उसकी बकरी दबी?

कोतवाल : महाराज, महाराज—

राजा : कुछ नहीं, महाराज, महाराज ले जाओ, कोतवाल को अभी फाँसी दो। दरबार बरखास्त।

(लोग एक तरफ़ से कोतवाल को पकड़कर ले जाते हैं, दूसरी ओर से मंत्री के साथ राजा जाते हैं)

(यवनिका गिरती है)

पाँचवाँ अंक

स्थान—अरण्य

(गोबरधनदास गाते हुए आते हैं)

अंधेर नगरी अनबूझ राजा। टका सेर भाजी टका सेर खाजा।।
नीच, ऊँच सब एकहि ऐसे। जैसे भड़ुए पंडित तैसे।

कुल-मरजाद न मान बड़ाई। सबै एक से लोग-लुगाई।।
जात-पाँत पूछै नहिं कोई। हरि को भजे सो हरि का होई।।
ऊँच-नीच सब एकहि सारा। मानहुँ ब्रह्मज्ञान बिस्तारा।।
अंधेर नगरी अनबूझ राजा। टका सेर भाजी टका सेर खाजा।।

(बैठकर मिठाई खाता है)

गुरुजी ने हमको नाहक यहाँ रहने को मना किया था। माना कि देस बहुत बुरा है, पर अपना क्या? अपने किसी राजकाम में थोड़े हैं कि कुछ डर है। मिठाई चबाना, मजे में आनंद से राम भजन करना।

(मिठाई खाता है, चार प्यादे चार ओर से आकर उसको पकड़ लेते हैं)

पहला प्यादा : चल बे चल, बहुत मिठाई खाकर मुटाया है। आज पूरी हो गई।

दूसरा प्यादा : बाबूजी चलिए, नमोनारायण कीजिए।

गोबरधन : (घबड़ाकर) हैं! यह आफ़त कहाँ से आई! अरे भाई, मैंने तुम्हारा क्या बिगाड़ा है?

पहला प्यादा : बिगाड़ा है या बनाया है इससे क्या मतलब, अब चलिए फाँसी पर चढ़िए।

गोबरधन : फाँसी! अरे बाप रे बाप, फाँसी!! मैंने किसके प्राण लिए कि मुझको फाँसी!

दूसरा प्यादा : आप बड़े मोटे हैं, इस वास्ते फाँसी होती है।

गोबरधन : मोटे होने से फाँसी? यह कहाँ का न्याय है! अरे, हँसी फ़कीरों से नहीं करनी होती।

पहला प्यादा : जब सूली पर चढ़ लीजिएगा तब मालूम होगा कि हँसी है कि सच। सीधी राह से चलते हो कि घसीटकर ले चलें?

गोबरधन : अरे बाबा, क्यों बेकसूर के प्राण लेते हो? भगवान के यहाँ क्या

जवाब दोगे?

पहला प्यादा : भगवान को जवाब राजा देगा। हमको क्या मतलब! हम तो हुक्मी बंदे हैं।

गोबरधन : तब भी बाबा बात क्या है कि हम फ़कीर आदमी को नाहक फाँसी देते हो?

पहला प्यादा : बात यह है कि कल कोतवाल को फाँसी का हुकुम हुआ था। जब फाँसी देने को उसको ले गए तो फाँसी का फंदा बड़ा हुआ, क्योंकि कोतवाल साहब दुबले हैं। हम लोगों ने महाराज से अर्ज़ किया, इस पर हुक्म हुआ कि एक मोटा आदमी पकड़कर फाँसी दे दो, क्योंकि बकरी मारने के अपराध में किसी न किसी को सज़ा होनी ज़रूर है, नहीं तो न्याय न होगा। इसी वास्ते तुमको ले जाते हैं कि कोतवाल के बदले तुमको फाँसी दें।

गोबरधन : तो क्या कोई मोटा आदमी इस नगर भर में नहीं मिला जो मुझ अनाथ फकीर को फाँसी देते हैं?

पहला प्यादा : इसमें दो बात हैं—एक तो नगर भर में राजा के न्याय के डर से कोई मुटाता ही नहीं, दूसरे और किसी को पकड़ें तो वह न जानें क्या बात बनावे कि हमीं लोगों के सिर कहीं न आ पड़े और फिर इस राज में साधू महात्मा?...इन्हीं लोगों की तो दुर्दशा है, इसीसे तुम्हीं को फाँसी देंगे।

गोबरधन : दुहाई परमेश्वर की, अरे मैं नाहक मारा जाता हूँ ! अरे यहाँ बड़ा ही अंधेर है, अरे गुरु जी महाराज का कहा मैंने न माना, उसका फल मुझको भोगना पड़ा। गुरुजी कहाँ हो! आओ, मेरे

प्राण बचाओ, अरे मैं बेअपराध मारा जाता हूँ। गुरु जी, गुरु जी—

(गोबरधन चिल्लाता है, प्यादे उसको पकड़कर ले जाते हैं)

(यवनिका गिरती है)

छठा अंक

स्थान—फाँसीघर

(गोबरधनदास को पकड़े हुए चार सिपाहियों का प्रवेश)

गोबरधन : हाय बाप रे! मुझे बेकसूर ही फाँसी देते हैं। अरे भाइयो, कुछ तो धरम बिचारो! अरे मुझ गरीब को फाँसी देकर तुम लोगों को क्या लाभ होगा? अरे मुझे छोड़ दो। हाय! हाय! (रोता है और छुड़ाने का यत्न करता है)

सिपाही : अबे, चुप रह—राजा का हुकुम भला कहीं टल सकता है? यह तेरा आखिरी दम है, राम का नाम ले—क्यों शोर करता है, चुप रह।

गोबरधन : हाय! मैंने गुरुजी का कहना न माना, उसी का यह फल है। गुरुजी ने कहा था कि ऐसे नगर में न रहना चाहिए, यह मैंने न सुना! अरे! इस नगर का नाम ही अंधेर नगरी और राजा का नाम चौपट है, तब बचने की कौन आशा है। अरे! इस नगरी में ऐसा कोई धर्मात्मा नहीं है जो इस फ़कीर को बचावे। गुरुजी

कहाँ हो? बचाओ-बचाओ, गुरुजी-गुरुजी।
(रोता है, सिपाही लोग उसे घसीटते हुए ले चलते हैं। गुरुजी और नारायणदास आते हैं)

गुरु : अरे बच्चा गोबरधनदास! तेरी यह क्या दशा है?

गोबरधन : (गुरु को हाथ जोड़कर) गुरु जी! दीवार के नीचे बकरी दब गई, सो इसके लिए मुझे फाँसी देते हैं, गुरुजी बचाओ।

गुरु : अरे बच्चा! मैंने तो पहले ही कहा था कि ऐसे नगर में रहना ठीक नहीं, तूने मेरा कहना नहीं माना।

गोबरधन : मैंने आपका कहा नहीं माना, उसी का यह फल मिला। आपके सिवा अब ऐसा कोई नहीं है जो रक्षा करे। मैं आपका हूँ, आपके सिवा और कोई नहीं। (पैर पकड़कर रोता है)

गुरु : कोई चिंता नहीं, नारायण सब समर्थ हैं (भौं चढ़ाकर सिपाहियों से) सुनो, मुझको अपने शिष्य को अंतिम उपदेश देने दो, तुम लोग तनिक किनारे जाओ, देखो मेरा कहना न मानोगे तो तुम्हारा भला न होगा।

सिपाही : नहीं महाराज, हम लोग हट जाते हैं। आप बेशक उपेदश कीजिए। (सिपाही हट जाते हैं। गुरुजी चेले के कान में कुछ समझाते हैं)

गोबरधन : (प्रकट) तब तो गुरुजी हम अभी फाँसी चढ़ेंगे।

गुरु : नहीं बच्चा, मुझको चढ़ने दे।

गोबरधन : नहीं गुरुजी, हम फाँसी चढ़ेंगे।

गुरु : नहीं बच्चा हम। इतना समझाया नहीं मानता, हम बूढ़े हुए, हमको जाने दे।

गोबरधन : स्वर्ग जाने में बूढ़ा-जवान क्या? आप तो सिदध हो, आपको गति-अगति से क्या? मैं फाँसी चढ़ूँगा।

(इसी प्रकार दोनों हुज्जत करते हैं—सिपाही लोग परस्पर चकित होते हैं)

पहला सिपाही : भाई! यह क्या माजरा है, कुछ समझ नहीं पड़ता।

दूसरा सिपाही : हम भी नहीं समझ सकते कि यह कैसा गड़बड़ है।

(राजा, मंत्री, कोतवाल आते हैं)

राजा : यह क्या गोलमाल है?

पहला सिपाही : महाराज! चेला कहता है मैं फाँसी चढ़ूँगा, गुरु कहता है मैं चढ़ूँगा कुछ मालूम नहीं पड़ता कि क्या बात है?



राजा : (गुरु से) बाबाजी! बोलो। काहे को आप फाँसी चढ़ते हैं?

गुरु : राजा। इस समय ऐसी साइत है कि जो मरेगा सीधा बैकुंठ जाएगा।

मंत्री : तब तो हम फाँसी चढ़ेंगे।

गोबरधन : हम, हम। हमको तो हुकुम है।

कोतवाल : हम लटकेंगे। हमारे सबब तो दीवार गिरी।

राजा : चुप रहो, सब लोग। राजा के आछत और कौन बैकुंठ जा सकता

है। हमको फाँसी चढ़ाओ, जल्दी, जल्दी।

गुरु : जहाँ न धर्म न बुद्धि नहिं, नीति न सुजन-समाज।
ते ऐसहि आपुहि नसैं, जैसे चौपट राज।।
(राजा को लोग टिकठी पर खड़ा करते हैं)

(पटाक्षेप)

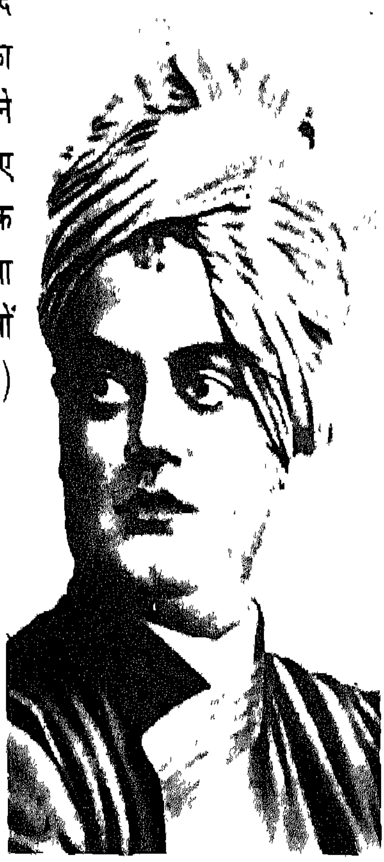
—भारतेंदु हरिश्चंद्र

प्रश्न

1. अंधेर नगरी की क्या विशेषता थी?
2. गुरु महंत ने अपने चेले गोबरधनदास को अंधेर नगरी छोड़ कर वापस चलने को क्यों कहा?
3. गोबरधनदास ने क्या तर्क देकर अंधेर नगरी छोड़ने से इनकार कर दिया?
4. गोबरधनदास फाँसी के तख्ते तक कैसे जा पहुँचा?
5. गुरु ने गोबरधनदास को फाँसी की सजा से कैसे मुक्त कराया?
6. 'अंधेर नगरी का राजा बुद्धिहीन और अहंकारी था।' नाटक से उदाहरण देकर इस कथन की पुष्टि कीजिए।

12. स्वामी विवेकानंद का एक पत्र

(यह पत्र स्वामी विवेकानंद ने स्वामी ब्रह्मानंद को लिखा था। इसमें धर्म के वास्तविक रुप का सार समझाया गया है। स्वामी विवेकानंद ने अकाल पीड़ित देशवासियों की सेवा के लिए अपने सन्यासी गुरु भाईयों से अपील की है कि आश्रम और पूजा पाठ पर जो धन खर्च किया जाता है, उसे कम करके बचे हुए पैसे को गरीबों की सेवा-सहायता में खर्च करना चाहिए।)



ॐ नमो भगवते रामकृष्णाय

अल्मोड़ा,

9 जुलाई, 1897

अभिन्न हृदयेषु,

हमारी संस्था के उद्देश्य का पहला प्रूफ़ मैंने संशोधित करके आज तुम्हारे पास वापस भेजा है। उसके नियमवाले अंश (जो हमारी संस्था के सदस्यों ने पढ़े थे) अशुद्धियों से

भरे हैं। उसे सावधानी से ठीक करके छपवाना, नहीं तो लोग हँसेंगे।

...बहरमपुर में जैसा काम हो रहा है वह बहुत ही अच्छा है। इसी प्रकार के कामों की विजय होगी—क्या मात्र मतवाद और सिद्धांत हृदय को स्पर्श कर सकते हैं? कर्म, कर्म—आदर्श जीवन यापन करो—सिद्धांतों और मतों का क्या मूल्य? दर्शन, योग और तपस्या—पूजागृह—अक्षत चावल या शाक का भोग—यह सब व्यक्तिगत अथवा देशगत धर्म है। किंतु दूसरों की भलाई और सेवा करना एक महान् सार्वलौकिक धर्म है। आबालवृद्धवनिता, चांडाल—यहाँ तक कि पशु भी इस धर्म को ग्रहण कर सकते हैं? क्या मात्र किसी निषेधात्मक धर्म से काम चल सकता है? पत्थर कभी अनैतिक कर्म नहीं करता, गाय कभी झूठ नहीं बोलती, वृक्ष कभी चोरी या डकैती नहीं करते, परंतु इससे होता क्या है? माना कि तुम चोरी नहीं करते, न झूठ बोलते हो, न अनैतिक जीवन व्यतीत करते हो, बल्कि चार घंटे प्रतिदिन ध्यान करते हो और उसके दुगुने घंटे तक भक्तिपूर्वक घंटी बजाते हो, परंतु अंत में इसका उपयोग क्या है? वह कार्य यद्यपि थोड़ा ही है, परंतु सदा के लिए बहरमपुर तुम्हारे चरणों पर नत हो गया है—अब जैसा तुम चाहते हो वैसा ही लोग करेंगे। अब तुम्हें लोगों से यह तर्क नहीं करना पड़ेगा कि 'श्री रामकृष्ण भगवान हैं।' काम के बिना केवल व्याख्यान क्या कर सकता है! क्या मीठे शब्दों से रोटी चुपड़ी जा सकती है? यदि तुम दस ज़िलों में ऐसा कर सको तो वे दसों तुम्हारी मुट्ठी में आ जाएँगे। इसलिए समझदार लड़के की तरह इस समय अपने कर्मविभाग पर ही सबसे ज्यादा ज़ोर दो और उसकी उपयोगिता को बढ़ाने की प्राण-प्रण से चेष्टा करो। कुछ लड़कों को द्वार-द्वार जाने के लिए संगठित करो, और अलखिया साधुओं के समान उन्हें जो मिले वह लाने दो—धन, पुराने वस्त्र, चावल, खाद्य पदार्थ या और जो कुछ भी मिले। फिर उसे बाँट दो। वास्तव में यही सच्चा कार्य है। इसके बाद लोगों को श्रद्धा

होगी और फिर तुम जो कहोगे वे करेंगे।

कलकत्ते की बैठक में खर्च को पूरा करने के बाद जो बचे उसे दुर्भिक्ष-पीड़ितों की सहायता के लिए भेज दो, या जो अगणित दरिद्र कलकत्ते की मैली-कुचैली गलियों में रहते हैं, उनकी सहायता में लगा दो—स्मारक भवन और इस प्रकार के कार्यों का विचार त्याग दो। प्रभु जो अच्छा समझेंगे वह करेंगे। इस समय मेरा स्वास्थ्य अति उत्तम है।

उपयोगी सामग्री तुम क्यों नहीं एकत्र कर रहे हो? मैं स्वयं वहाँ आकर पत्रिका आरंभ करूँगा। प्रेम और सहानुभूति से सारा संसार खरीदा जा सकता है। व्याख्यान, पुस्तकें और दर्शन का स्थान इनसे नीचा है।

कृपया शीश को लिखो कि गरीबों की सेवा के लिए इसी प्रकार का एक कर्म विभाग वह भी खोले।

...पूजा का खर्च घटाकर एक या दो रुपए महीने पर ले आओ। प्रभु की संतानें भूख से मर रही हैं......केवल जल और तुलसी-पत्र से पूजा करो और उसके भोग के निमित्त धन को उस जीवित प्रभु के भोजन में खर्च करो, जो दरिद्रों में वास करता है। तभी प्रभु की सब पर कृपा होगी। योगेन यहाँ अस्वस्थ रहा, इसलिए आज वह कलकत्ते के लिए रवाना हो गया है। मैं कल देवलधार फिर जाऊँगा। तुम सभी को मेरा प्यार।

सस्नेह,

विवेकानंद

प्रश्न

1. सिद्धांत कथन और मतवाद से क्या आशय है?
2. देशगत और सार्वलौकिक धर्म में क्या अंतर है?
3. विवेकानंद ने बहरमपुर में अपनी संस्था द्वारा किए जा रहे किन-किन कामों की सराहना की है और किनको व्यर्थ बतलाया है?
4. झूठ न बोलना, चोरी न करना तथा अनैतिक कर्मों से बचना जैसे निषेधात्मक धर्म को विवेकानंद ने अनुपयोगी क्यों बतलाया है?
5. 'जीवित प्रभु' किसे कहा गया है और लेखक ने उसकी सेवा के लिए स्वामी ब्रह्मानंद को क्या सलाह दी है?

13. पाइक्राफ़्ट का मोटापा

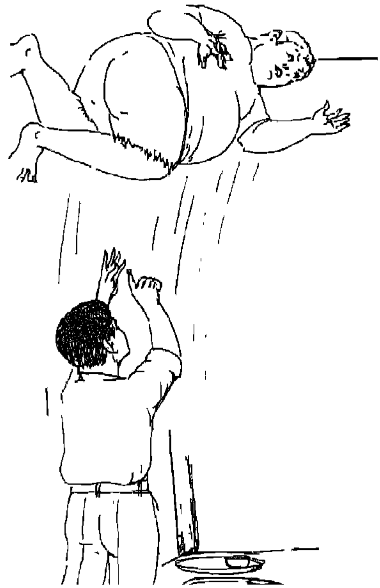
बेहद मोटा, मांस का पहाड़ जैसा दिखने वाला पाइक्राफ़्ट मुझे पहली बार इसी क्लब में मिला था। उन दिनों मैं क्लब का नया-नया सदस्य बना था। परिचय के बाद पाइक्राफ़्ट मुझसे जल्दी ही घुलमिल गया। एक दिन वह अपने मोटापे की समस्या पर चर्चा करते हुए बोला, "मैं अपना वज़न कम करने के लिए कुछ भी कर सकता हूँ, कुछ भी दे सकता हूँ।"



शायद उसे मेरी भारतीय मूल की परदादी के विषय में कहीं से पता चल गया था। हठ करने लगा कि वज़न घटाने के लिए उनका कोई अच्छा-सा भारतीय नुसखा मैं उसे दूँ। मैंने कई बहाने बनाए और यह भी कहा कि इसमें खतरा भी हो सकता है, किंतु पाइक्राफ़्ट के कान पर जूँ न रेंगी।

विवश होकर मैंने घर में पड़े हुए चंदन की लकड़ी के बने एक डिब्बे को खोजा, जिसमें मेरी परदादी के लिखे कई विचित्र-से नुसखे थे। वज़न घटाने के लिए भी एक था जिसमें अंडा, नाग का विष और न जाने क्या-क्या लिखा था। उसी को अंग्रेज़ी में लिख कर मैंने पाइक्राफ़्ट को दे दिया और उसे एक बार फिर सावधान किया कि यदि कोई गड़बड़ी होती है तो मुझे दोष न दें।

इसके बाद लगभग एक महीने तक पाइक्राफ़्ट में कोई परिवर्तन नहीं दिखा। वैसा ही मोटा किंतु थोड़ा अधिक चिंतित। फिर कई दिनों तक वह दिखा नहीं। मुझे अंदर ही अंदर प्रसन्नता हो रही थी और लग रहा था कि चलो आखिर उस मोटू से पीछा तो छूटा।



अचानक एक दिन पाइक्राफ़्ट का तार आया—"मिस्टर फॉमैलिन, भगवान के लिए तुरंत आ जाओ, पाइक्राफ़्ट।"

मैंने क्लब के नौकर से पाइक्राफ़्ट का पता लिया। ब्लुम्ज़बेरी में एक मकान के ऊपरी भाग में वह रह रहा था। मैं तुरंत वहाँ गया। "पाइक्राफ़्ट साहब भीतर हैं?" मैंने सामने के द्वार पर जाकर पूछा। वहाँ लोग समझ रहे थे कि पाइक्राफ़्ट अस्वस्थ है क्योंकि दो दिन से वह बाहर निकला ही नहीं था।

"वे मेरी प्रतीक्षा कर रहे हैं।" यह कहने पर उन लोगों ने मुझे ऊपर जाने दिया। ऊपर के तल पर जाकर मैंने मुख्य द्वार की घंटी बजाई। मन-ही-मन मैं सोच रहा था कि उसे वह नुसखा आज़माना नहीं चाहिए था। खैर! एक भद्र महिला ने दरवाज़ा खोला और हिचकते हुए बोली, "आप?" मेरे नाम बताने पर उसने अंदर आने को कहा और फिर जैसे किसी रहस्य की ओर संकेत-सा करते हुए कहने लगी, "श्रीमान् जी, उन्होंने अपने आपको भीतर बंद कर रखा है।"

"बंद कर रखा है?" मुझे आश्चर्य हुआ।

"कल सवेरे अपने को बंद कर लिया और तब से किसी को अंदर नहीं जाने दिया है। बस, लगातार गालियाँ बके जा रहे हैं। हे भगवान!"

"इस कमरे में?"

"जी हाँ!" दुख के साथ उसने अपना सिर हिलाया। बस खाने के लिए मँगाते जा रहे हैं। मैं जो भी ला सकती हूँ, ला रही हूँ। खाने का सामान बाहर ही छोड़ देती हूँ और चली जाती हूँ। देखिए, शायद कुछ खा ही रहे हैं।

"फॉमैलिन; तुम?" अंदर से पतला-सा तीखा स्वर आया।

"अरे, पाइक्राफ़्ट, तुम?" मैं चिल्लाया और ज़ोर से दरवाज़ा खटखटाने लगा। "पहले उससे कह दो कि वह चली जाए।"

मैंने उस महिला को वहाँ से हटा दिया। अब मुझे दरवाज़े पर उँगलियों की अजीब-सी आवाज़ सुनाई दी, मानो कोई अँधेरे में दरवाज़े का हैंडिल टटोल रहा हो।

"वह तो गई।" मैंने ऊँचे स्वर में कहा। तब मैंने घूमने की आवाज़ सुनी। फिर पाइक्राफ़्ट की गुर्राहट सुनाई दी, "अंदर आ जाओ।"

मैंने हैंडिल घुमाकर दरवाज़ा खोला। अरे यह क्या? कमरे में कहीं वह दिखा ही नहीं। मुझे बड़ा धक्का लगा। उसका कमरा गंदा, अस्तव्यस्त, कुरसियाँ उलटी पड़ी हुईं। पुस्तकों के बीच में गंदी प्लेटें और थालियाँ। किंतु पाइक्राफ़्ट कहीं नहीं।

"दरवाज़ा बंद कर लो।" स्वर सुनाई दिया। अरे यह क्या? दरवाज़े के ऊपर, छत के कोने से लगा हुआ था पाइक्राफ़्ट, मानों क़िसी ने उसे वहाँ चिपका दिया हो। चेहरा परेशान और क्रोध से भरा हुआ। वह हाँफ़ रहा था।

मैंने दरवाज़ा बंद कर दिया और उसके नीचे से अलग हट कर उसकी ओर देखने लगा। फिर मैंने कहा, "अरे भले आदमी, क्या कर रहे हो तुम? इतनी आयु और भारी होते हुए तुम ऐसी बचकानी कलाबाज़ियों पर उतर आए। अगर कुछ टूट गया और तुम नीचे गिरे तो तुम्हारी गरदन नहीं टूट जाएगी?"

"काश कि मैं नीचे गिर सकता!" उसकी सीटी जैसी साँस सुनाई दी।

"तुम्हारी कमबख्त परदादी. . ."

"अबे चुप्प!" मैंने उसे डाँट दिया। फिर उससे पूछा, "लेकिन तुम वहाँ ऊपर छत से चिपके हुए रुके कैसे हो?"

फिर मैंने स्वयं ही अनुभव किया कि वह रुका हुआ तो था ही नहीं। वह तो वहाँ ऊपर गैस से भरे हुए किसी गुब्बारे की भाँति छत से लगा हुआ लुढ़क रहा था। अब उसने अपने को छत से दूर छिटककर अलग करने तथा दीवार के सहारे मेरे पास नीचे आने के लिए हाथ-पैर मारना प्रारंभ कर दिया।

"यह तुम्हारे उसी नुसखे का परिणाम है। तुम्हारी परदादी . . . ." बोलते-बोलते उसने दीवार पर टँगा हुआ एक फ्रेम वाला चित्र पकड़ने का प्रयत्न किया। वह चित्र टूट कर नीचे गिरा और चूर-चूर हो गया। पाइक्राफ़्ट फिर जाकर छत से टकराया। अब मैं समझा, यह सारा मामला क्या है?

वह फिर दीवार की पट्टी पकड़ कर अधिक सावधानी के साथ उलटा नीचे आने का प्रयत्न करने लगा।

वाह क्या दृश्य था! बड़ा-सा मोटा, लाल-लाल व्यक्ति, जगह-जगह से चूने के कारण सफ़ेद, उलटा तैरता हुआ छत से नीचे धरती पर आने का प्रयत्न कर रहा था। वाह!

"यह हुआ कैसे?"

"अरे, शरीर का भार पूरा का पूरा समाप्त हो गया।"

ओह, अब मैं पूरी बात ठीक से समझ गया था।

"ईश्वर की सौगंध, पाइक्राफ़्ट, घपला तुमने किया। तुम मोटापे का इलाज चाहते थे न! लेकिन तुमने बात तो सदैव अपने शरीर के वज़न की की थी।" वैसे मुझे अंदर ही अंदर बड़ा आनंद आ रहा था। "अच्छा लाओ, मैं तुम्हारी सहायता करता हूँ।" मैंने उसका हाथ पकड़ कर उसे नीचे खींचा। वह अपने पैर कहीं जमाने के लिए इधर-उधर फेंक रहा था, मैंने कमरे में रखी हुई भारी-सी मेज़ के नीचे उसे कर दिया जहाँ वह गुब्बारे की भाँति लुढ़कने लगा।

मैंने एक सिगार जलाया। पाइक्राफ़्ट बताने लगा कि क्या हुआ था।

"मैंने पहले उस नुसखे का एक छोटा-सा घूँट लिया। भयंकर कड़वा और बुरा स्वाद था उसका। पर मैंने पूरी की पूरी दवा पीने का निश्चय कर लिया था। बस नाक दबा ली और पूरी दवा पेट में उड़ेल ली। फिर तो मैं हलका . . . . और हलका होता चला गया और विवश भी।" अचानक वह बहुत भावुक हो उठा।

"अब मैं क्या करूँ? . . . . . इस दवा का प्रभाव धीरे-धीरे कम तो होगा न?"

"मुझे आशा नहीं है कि कम होगा। बहरहाल एक बात तो स्पष्ट है कि

अब तुम कमरे से बाहर कभी नहीं निकल सकते, अन्यथा ऊपर . . . . और ऊपर ही उठते चले जाओगे।'' मैंने ऊपर की ओर आकाश में हाथ हिलाए।

पाइक्राफ़्ट बहुत ही भावुक होकर फूट पड़ा तथा कुरसियों पर लात मारते हुए दरवाज़ा पीटने लगा। मैंने उसे समझाते हुए कहा :

''देखो, मैंने तुमसे कहा नहीं था कि तुम यह दवा मत लो। तुमने घुमा-फिरा कर बात की। मोटापा कहना भद्दा लगता था इसलिए तुमने वज़न की शिकायत की। तुमने.........''

''मैं सब समझ रहा हूँ। पर अब मैं क्या करूँ?'' उसके ऊपर सचमुच मुझे तरस आने लगा। मैंने उसे राय दी कि अब उसे नई परिस्थितियों के अनुसार अपने को ढालना चाहिए और हाथों की सहायता से छत से लग कर चलना-फिरना सीखना चाहिए जो कठिन नहीं है।

''पर मैं सो नहीं पा रहा हूँ। इसके लिए क्या करूँ?''

यह तो कोई विशेष समस्या नहीं थी। मैंने उसे समझाया कि स्प्रिंग वाले गद्दों को फ़ीतों की सहायता से छत पर उलटा जमा कर कंबल और चादर से उसे नीचे से ढँक कर और किनारों से सिलकर उलटा पलंग बना लिया जाए। पुस्तकालय की एक सीढ़ी कमरे में रख लें। भोजन अलमारी के ऊपर रख दिया जाएगा। फर्श पर नीचे आने की तरकीब भी समझ में आ गई। मोटी-मोटी कुछ पुस्तकें अलमारी के ऊपर रखी हों। जब भी पाइक्राफ़्ट को नीचे उतरना हो तो उन पुस्तकों को उठा ले। उनके बोझ से वह नीचे आ जाएगा। कमरे की दीवारों के चारों ओर लोहे के छल्ले ठोंक दिए जाएँ ताकि उन्हें पकड़ कर नीचे ही नीचे कमरे में वह घूम सके। हाँ, इसके लिए घर की सेविका को विश्वास में लाना होगा। पाइक्राफ़्ट तैयार हो गया। सेविका को बुलाकर पूरी बात समझाई। दो दिन वहीं रुककर मैंने सेविका की सहायता से सारी व्यवस्था की। बिजली

के तारों और स्विचों को उलटा लगाया ताकि पाइक्राफ़्ट उनका प्रयोग कर सके। अब मुझे बड़ा ही सुख मिल रहा था यह सोच कर कि अब यह मोटू कभी क्लब नहीं आ सकेगा।

एक दिन उसकी अँगीठी के पास बैठे-बैठे मुझे न जाने क्यों एक विचार आया और मैं पाइक्राफ़्ट से बोला,

''अरे पाइक्राफ़्ट, ईश्वर की सौगंध, इन सब की तो कोई आवश्यकता ही नहीं है। बेकार में यह झंझट की।'' परिणाम की बात सोचे बिना मैं बोलता गया, ''सीसे की धातु की चद्दर लेकर उसके गोल-गोल टुकड़े कटवा लो। उन्हें अपने अंदर पहनने वाले कपड़ों के साथ सिलवा लो। सीसे के तल्ले वाले जूते पहनो और सीसे से भरा हुआ बैग हाथ में ले लो। बस, हो गया! इस तरह यहाँ कैद न रह कर तुम बाहर की खुली दुनिया में फिर जा सकोगे। घूम सकोगे।'' खुशी से पाइक्राफ़्ट के आँसू निकल पड़े। उत्तेजित होकर फूट पड़ा—''मैं फिर से सीधा खड़ा हो सकूँगा?''

मैंने अपनी बात पूरी की, ''अब तुम्हें समुद्री यात्रा में भी डरने की आवश्यकता नहीं। कभी तुम्हारा जहाज़ डूबने भी लगे तो अपने कपड़ों में से थोड़ा-सा य सारा सीसा निकाल दो। केवल आवश्यक सामान अपने हाथ में ले लो और हव में तैरते हुए समुद्र से बाहर।''

भावातिरेक में पाइक्राफ़्ट ने अपने हाथ का हथौड़ा गिरा दिया, जो मेरे सि को लगभग छूता हुआ नीचे गिरा।

"हे भगवान! मैं फिर से क्लब जा सकूँगा!"

"हे भगवान! यह मैंने क्या कह दिया!!'' मैं जैसे आसमान से ज़मीन प आ गिरा। डूबती हुई आवाज़ में मैंने कहा,

"हाँ. हाँ, क्यों नहीं? बिलकुल आ सकोगे।"

और पाइक्राफ़्ट सचमुच क्लब आने लगा है।

मेरे सामने बैठा तीसरी-बार मक्खन चुपड़ी रोटियाँ खा रहा है। यदि उसे पता चल जाए कि मैं क्या लिख रहा हूँ तो मेरी खैर नहीं। अभी फिर शायद आकर मुझे अपना रहस्य किसी को भी न बताने की बात करने लगेगा और अपने मोटापे का रोना रोने लगेगा।

—राजेंद्र दीक्षित

प्रश्न

1. अपना वज़न घटाने का नुसखा पाने के लिए पाइक्राफ़्ट ने लेखक से हठ क्यों किया?
2. 'चलो आखिर उस मोटू से पीछा तो छूटा।' लेखक ने ऐसा क्यों सोचा?
3. पाइक्राफ़्ट द्वारा नुसखा आजमाए जाने का परिणाम क्या हुआ?
4. छत से लगकर उलटे तैरते हुए पाइक्राफ्ट को लेखक ने नीचे उतरने के लिए कौन-सी तरकीब सुझाई?
5. 'हे भगवान! मैं फिर से क्लब जा सकूँगा।' पाइक्राफ़्ट की यह बात सुन कर लेखक ने यह क्यों कहा, 'हे भगवान! यह मैंने क्या कह दिया?'

परिशिष्ट

लेखक परिचय

रवींद्रनाथ ठाकुर

इनका जन्म बंगाल के समृद्ध परिवार में 6 मई, 1861 ई. को हुआ था। प्रारंभिक शिक्षा घर पर हुई। वकालत पढ़ने के लिए विदेश गए लेकिन बिना परीक्षा दिए वापस आ गए। स्वाध्याय से विविध साहित्यिक क्षेत्रों के मर्मज्ञ हुए। विदेश भ्रमण के साथ बंगाल के ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों का बहुत भ्रमण किया। उन्होंने लगभग एक हज़ार कविताएँ, दो हज़ार गीत, अनेक कहानियाँ, नाटक, उपन्यास, यात्रा-वृत्तांत, निबंध आदि की रचना की। इनको काव्य संग्रह 'गीतांजलि' पर सन् 1913 ई. में 'नोबल पुरस्कार' मिला। बँगला के साथ-साथ अंग्रेज़ी में भी बहुत साहित्य लिखा। उनकी रचनाओं का भारत एवं विश्व की अनेक भाषाओं में अनुवाद हो चुका है। साहित्य के साथ-साथ संगीत, चित्रकला आदि में भी इनकी गहन रुचि थी। इन्होंने प्राचीन भारतीय शिक्षा, संस्कृति एवं कला को पुनर्जीवित करने के लिए 'शांतिनिकेतन' की स्थापना की, जो आज विश्वविद्यालय है। 7 अगस्त, सन् 1941 को इनका स्वर्गवास हो गया।

शकुंतला भारती

शकुंतला भारती तमिल के महाकवि श्री सुब्रह्मण्य भारती की कनिष्ठ पुत्री हैं। भारती

जी ने स्वतंत्रता संग्राम में सक्रिय भाग लिया था और अपनी रचनाओं के द्वारा भारतीय जनता में देश-भक्ति और बलिदान की अभूतपूर्व भावना जागृत की थी। पिता का संस्कार पुत्री पर भी पड़ा। शकुंतला भारती भी तमिल की प्रसिद्ध लेखिका हैं। रेखाचित्र और संस्मरण विधा लिखने में सिद्धहस्त हैं। भारती जी के निधन के पश्चात उनके व्यक्तित्व एवं कृतित्व को प्रकाश में लाने में भारती के भाई श्री सी. विश्वनाथन और शकुंतला भारती जी का विशेष योगदान है।

इंदिरा वासवानी

इनका जन्म 1936 ई. में हुआ। इंदिरा जी सिंधी की विख्यात कहानीकार हैं। इनकी कहानियों में जीवन के यथार्थ का मार्मिक चित्रण मिलता है। कहानी के अतिरिक्त इनकी कविताएँ भी बड़ी मर्मस्पर्शी हैं। व्यवसाय से अध्यापन का कार्य करने वाली इंदिरा वासवानी की इतिहास में भी विशेष रुचि है। कच्छ (गुजरात) के आदीपुर में विद्यालय की प्रधानाध्यापिका रही हैं।

इनकी रचनाओं में 'नालो' और 'मंजरी' कहानी-संग्रह विशेषरूप से उल्लेखनीय हैं।

सोमनाथ साधू

इनका जन्म 25 अगस्त, 1935 ई. को श्रीनगर (कश्मीर) में हुआ। साधू जी बहुमुखी प्रतिभा के व्यक्ति हैं। इनके रेडियो रूपक और हास्य-व्यंग्यात्मक निबंध बहुत ही लोकप्रिय हैं। 'ग्रैंड रिहर्सल' नाटक पर इन्हें जम्मू कश्मीर राज्य की कल्चरल अकादमी ने पुरस्कृत किया। अभिनय के क्षेत्र में भी इनको विशेष सफलता मिली है। इन्होंने 'मआंज्यरात' और 'महजूर' नामक कश्मीरी चलचित्रों में सफल अभिनय भी किया है।

बहुत समय तक साधू जी रेडियो कश्मीर, श्रीनगर में एक्सटेंशन अफ़सर के पद पर कार्य किया है। जीवन के खट्टे-मीठे अनुभवों को अत्यंत सरल एवं हास्यपूर्ण शैली में लिखना इनकी विशेषता है। प्रस्तुत पुस्तक में संगृहीत 'जब मैंने नेकटाई बाँधी' रचना इसका ज्वलंत उदाहरण है।

वी. आर. सुधीश

इनका जन्म 1961 ई. में हुआ। सुधीश मलयालम के लोकप्रिय कहानीकार हैं। अब तक इनके पाँच कहानी-संग्रह और एक उपन्यास प्रकाशित हो चुके हैं। साहित्यकार के साथ-साथ वे सफल संपादक भी हैं। अनेक काव्य-संग्रहों और कहानी-संग्रहों का सफल संपादन भी किया है। इनकी कहानियों में मानवीय संवेदनाओं का कुशल चित्रण देखने को मिलता है। संकलित कहानी 'पीढ़ी-दर-पीढ़ी' में मानव जगत के व्यापक हित में अपना जीवन उत्सर्ग करने वाले एक मेंढक के उदात्त विचारों का विशद एवं मर्मस्पर्शी वर्णन है।

मुद्दराज अर्स सुब्रह्मण्य अरस चदुरंग

इनका जन्म मैसूर जिले (कर्नाटक) के कल्लहल्ली में 1 जनवरी, 1916 ई. को हुआ। इन्होंने मैसूर विश्वविद्यालय से बी. ए. की उपाधि प्राप्त की। इनकी साहित्यिक उपलब्धियों पर मैसूर विश्वविद्यालय ने डी.लिट. की मानद उपाधि प्रदान की।

चदुरंग कन्नड़ के लोकप्रिय कहानीकार, नाटककार और उपन्यासकार हैं। इनको कर्नाटक राज्योत्सव पुरस्कार के अतिरिक्त कर्नाटक साहित्य अकादमी और केन्द्रीय साहित्य अकादमी ने भी पुरस्कृत किया है। चदुरंग की प्रसिद्ध रचनाएँ हैं—'स्वप्न सुंदरी', 'इणु कुनोट', 'शब्द मने', 'वैशाख (कहानी संग्रह), 'सर्वमंगल', 'मृगया' (उपन्यास), 'कुमार राम', 'बिंब' (नाटक)।

सर्वमंगल पर आधारित फिल्म का इन्होंने सफल निर्देशन भी किया है। इस फिल्म की पट-कथा संवाद तथा निर्देशन पर पुरस्कार भी मिला।

ना. नागप्पा

इनका जन्म 1911 ई. में कर्नाटक राज्य के एडतोरे ग्राम में हुआ। हिंदी में एम.ए. की योग्यता प्राप्त की। अनेक वर्षों तक स्नातकोत्तर हिंदी अध्ययन तथा अनुसंधान विभाग, मैसूर विश्वविद्यालय, मैसूर में अध्यक्ष पद पर कार्य करने के बाद अवकाश ग्रहण किया।

दक्षिण भारत में हिंदी के प्रचार-प्रसार में नागप्पा जी का विशेष योगदान है। इन्हें हिंदी का 'भीष्म पितामह' कहा जाता है। पिछले छह से अधिक दशकों से हिंदी विभागों की स्थापना, पाठ्य-सामग्री-निर्माण, अनुसंधान, अनुवाद आदि क्षेत्रों में इनका योगदान उल्लेखनीय है। 'बुआ जी', 'सैद्धांतिक व्याकरण', 'व्यावहारिक हिंदी', 'दक्षिण में हिंदी प्रचार का इतिहास' आदि इनकी प्रसिद्ध रचनाएँ हैं। वे कर्नाटक से प्रकाशित हिंदी की त्रैमासिक पत्रिका 'भाषा पीयूष' के प्रधान संपादक हैं।

हिंदी सेवा के लिए नागप्पा जी को राज्य एवं केंद्र स्तर पर अनेक संस्थाओं ने सम्मानित किया है। कुछ समय पहले बिहार सरकार के राज-भाषा विभाग ने उन्हें 'बाबू राजेंद्र प्रसाद हिंदी प्रचार शिखर' सम्मान से भी विभूषित किया है।

राजेंद्र प्रसाद

डॉ. राजेंद्र प्रसाद का जन्म छपरा (बिहार) के जीरादेई ग्राम में 1884 ई. में हुआ था। कलकत्ता के प्रेसिडेंसी कॉलेज से एम.ए. और एल.एल.बी. की परीक्षाएँ उत्तीर्ण कीं। ये बड़े कुशाग्रबुद्धि के छात्र थे। सभी परीक्षाओं में प्रथम स्थान प्राप्त किया।

कुछ समय अध्यापन-कार्य के बाद 1911 ई. से कलकत्ता हाईकोर्ट और 1916 ई. से पटना हाईकोर्ट में वकालत कार्य किया। चंपारन जिला (बिहार) के नील सत्याग्रह में सक्रिय भाग लिया और महात्मा गांधी जी के संपर्क में आए। 1920 ई. में वकालत छोड़कर सक्रिय राजनीति में भाग लेना शुरू कर दिया। ये भारतीय कांग्रेस के प्रमुख नेता थे। भारतीय कांग्रेस के तीन बार सभापति चुने गए। 1950 ई. में भारत के प्रथम राष्ट्रपति बने और 1962 ई. तक उसी पद पर रहे। 1963 ई. में पटना में इनकी मृत्यु हुई।

राजनीति में व्यस्त जीवन में रहकर भी उन्होंने सृजन कार्य किया है। 'भारतीय शिक्षा', 'गांधी जी की देन', 'साहित्य शिक्षा और संस्कृति', 'आत्मकथा' आदि इनकी प्रमुख रचनाएँ हैं। राजनीति में रहकर भी इनका संपूर्ण जीवन भारतीय जीवन-मूल्यों एवं आदर्शों का प्रतिरूप था।

निरंजन कुमार सिंह

सिंह साहब का जन्म 1921 ई. में ग्राम फेसुड़ा, जिला वाराणसी (उत्तर प्रदेश) में हुआ। काशी विद्यापीठ से विशारद और शास्त्री, आगरा विश्वविद्यालय से एम.ए. तथा इलाहाबाद से एल.टी. की परीक्षा उत्तीर्ण की। राजकीय महाविद्यालय, ज्ञानपुर, वाराणसी, राजकीय सेंट्रल पेडागाजिकल इंस्टीट्यूट, इलाहाबाद, क्षेत्रीय शिक्षा महाविद्यालय, अजमेर और भुवनेश्वर में शिक्षण कार्य किया। 1974 ई. से 1981 ई. तक एन.सी.ई.आर.टी. के सामाजिक विज्ञान एवं मानविकी शिक्षा विभाग में रीडर के पद पर रहकर शिक्षण सामग्री निर्माण में नई दिशा प्रदान की।

शिक्षा एवं शिक्षण विषयक लेखों के अतिरिक्त 'शिक्षा के सिद्धांत और प्रयोग', 'शिक्षा मनोविज्ञान', 'सामान्य शिक्षण सिद्धांत तथा विधियाँ', 'शिक्षालय संगठन', 'हिंदी भाषा शिक्षण', 'माध्यमिक विद्यालयों में हिंदी शिक्षण' आदि पुस्तकों की रचना की।

फरवरी 1981 में अवकाश ग्रहण करने के पश्चात् शैक्षिक कार्यों एवं शिक्षा विषयक ग्रंथों के निर्माण में संलग्न हैं। एन.सी.ई.आर.टी. की शैक्षिक सामग्री-निर्माण में भी इनका सक्रिय योगदान है।

भारतेंदु हरिश्चंद्र

वाराणसी (उत्तर प्रदेश) के एक संपन्न परिवार में 1850 ई. में भारतेंदु जी का जन्म हुआ था। ये बहुमुखी प्रतिभा के व्यक्ति थे। अपने अल्पकालीन जीवन में इन्होंने साहित्य की प्रायः सभी विधाओं को समृद्ध किया। वे समकालीन साहित्यकारों के प्रेरणास्रोत थे। नाटक, कविता, कथा साहित्य, पत्र-पत्रिकाओं के क्षेत्र में युग प्रवर्तक का कार्य किया। साहित्य सेवा के कारण इनको 'भारतेंदु' की उपाधि मिली और इनके काल को 'भारतेंदु युग' के नाम से जाना जाता है।

इनकी रचनाओं में देश-प्रेम, स्वभाषा-प्रेम तथा समाज सुधार का स्वर प्रमुख है। उनकी प्रमुख रचनाएँ हैं 'प्रेम माधुरी', 'प्रेम फुलवारी', 'प्रबोधिनी', 'प्रेम सरोवर', 'भक्तमाल', 'सतसई शृंगार' (कविता), 'सत्य हरीश्चंद', 'भारत दुर्दशा', 'नीलदेवी', 'श्री चंद्रावली

(नाटक), 'पूर्ण प्रकाश', 'चंद्रप्रभा' (उपन्यास), अनेक लेख एवं निबंध। इनकी सभी रचनाएँ भारतेंदु ग्रंथावली के तीन भागों में संकलित हैं। इनका निधन 1885 ई. में हुआ।

स्वामी विवेकानंद

इनका जन्म 12 जनवरी,1863 ई. को कलकत्ता में हुआ था। बचपन का नाम नरेंद्र नाथ था। ये बड़े कुशाग्रबुद्धि के छात्र थे। इनकी रुचि आध्यात्मवाद की ओर झुकी और स्वामी श्री रामकृष्ण जी के व्यक्तित्व से प्रभावित होकर उनके शिष्य बन गए। छह वर्ष तक उनसे अध्यात्म विद्या ग्रहण की और 25 वर्ष की आयु में संन्यासी हो गए।

स्वामी जी के जीवन की एक महत्त्वपूर्ण घटना है अमरीका में आयोजित विश्व धर्म-सम्मेलन में भाग लेना। 1893 ई. में शिकागो शहर में आयोजित विश्व धर्म-सम्मेलन में उनके 'धर्म समन्वय' का विचार सुनकर विश्वभर से आए श्रोतागण की आँखें खुली की खुली रह गईं। इसके बाद स्वामी जी के प्रवचन सुनने के लिए अपार जनसमूह उमड़ने लगा। ढाई वर्ष तक यूरोप के विभिन्न देशों में भारतीय दर्शन का प्रचार करने के बाद 1896 ई. में वे भारत लौटे।

इन्होंने भारत में एक नई चेतना जागृत की और भारतवासियों को आत्मसम्मान के साथ जीना सिखाया। जहाँ एक ओर भारतीय दर्शन का प्रचार-प्रसार किया वहीं समाज के उपेक्षित एवं दरिद्र वर्ग की सहायता के लिए अपने सहयोगियों को प्रेरित किया। कर रहे हैं। 4 जुलाई, 1902 ई. को इनका स्वर्गवास हो गया। इनकी समस्त रचनाएँ हिंदी में 'विवेकानंद साहित्य' शीर्षक से 10 भागों में प्रकाशित है जो देश-विदेश की विभिन्न भाषाओं में भी उपलब्ध है।

एच.जी. वेल्स

एच.जी. (हार्बर्ट जॉर्ज) वेल्स (1866-1946) प्रसिद्ध अंग्रेज़ी कथाकार एवं उपन्यासकार थे। इन्होंने वैज्ञानिक गल्पसाहित्य (फंतासियाँ) लिखीं जिनमें 'द टाइम मशीन' प्रमुख है।

चरित्र प्रधान उपन्यास, हास्यकथाएँ, समाजशास्त्रीय साहित्य तथा वैज्ञानिक पृष्ठभूमि पर आधारित लघुकथाएँ लिखने वाले वेल्स ने 'विश्व का संक्षिप्त इतिहास' (शॉर्ट हिस्ट्री ऑफ़ द वर्ल्ड) जैसी विश्व प्रसिद्ध रचना भी हमें दी।

राजेंद्र दीक्षित

इनका जनपद फ़र्रुखाबाद (उत्तर प्रदेश) के ग्राम पिपरगाँव में सितंबर 1940 ई. में जन्म हुआ। स्कूली शिक्षा वहीं पर हुई। बी.ए. तथा अंग्रेज़ी साहित्य में एम.ए. कानपुर (आगरा विश्वविद्यालय) से। केंद्रीय अंग्रेज़ी संस्थान, हैदराबाद से अंग्रेज़ी शिक्षण में स्नातकोत्तर डिप्लोमा, इंग्लैंड के लैंकास्टर विश्वविद्यालय से भाषा विज्ञान में एम.ए. तथा भोपाल विश्वविद्यालय से अंग्रेजी साहित्य में पी.एच.डी.।

बारहसेनी कॉलेज, अलीगढ़ (आगरा विश्वविद्यालय) में अगस्त 1961 से अक्तूबर 1967 तक और फिर क्षेत्रीय शिक्षा महाविद्यालय, भोपाल में अंग्रेजी के प्रवक्ता। 1973 से वहीं पर अंग्रेजी के रीडर और भाषा विभाग के अध्यक्ष। अप्रैल 1993 से अब तक राष्ट्रीय शैक्षिक अनुसंधान और प्रशिक्षण परिषद्, नई दिल्ली के सामाजिक विज्ञान एवं मानविकी शिक्षा विभाग में अंग्रेज़ी के प्रोफ़ेसर। अंग्रेज़ी साहित्य एवं भाषा शिक्षण के क्षेत्र में अनेक शोधछात्रों का पी.एच.डी. शोधप्रबंध के लिए मार्गदर्शन।

हिंदी, अंग्रेज़ी तथा संस्कृत एवं साहित्य के अध्ययन के साथ बंगाली, मराठी और गुजराती भाषाओं का सामान्य व्यावहारिक ज्ञान। हिंदी से अंग्रेज़ी में अनूदित कविताओं का प्रकाशन। मध्य प्रदेश की स्नातक कक्षाओं के लिए अंग्रेज़ी के आधार पाठ्यक्रम की पुस्तक का सहलेखन तथा भाषा योजना एवं प्रशिक्षण पाठ्यक्रम पर अंग्रेज़ी लेखों का प्रकाशन। लंबे समय तक हिंदी रंगमंच के कलाकार के रूप में संबद्ध।

Record at other social service agencies

The Neighborhood

Recreational facilities

Housing and living conditions

Desirability of his playmates

Any special obstacle to adjustment

Sources of Information. Much of the necessary data can be gathered from records kept by the school and by other social-service agencies. Many of the behavior-problem children have already been examined and studied by such agencies as the Children's Court, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, or local relief organizations. The teacher can avoid duplication by consulting the social agencies' records. Any social worker can tell the teacher whether there is a central clearing bureau for gathering such information for the community and where the teacher is likely to find information about the child.[2]

For information relating to the child's physical, mental, and psychiatric make-up, examinations conducted by specialists are essential.

The physician who conducts the medical examination should not merely answer the questions listed in the outline given above, but should feel free to refer the child for any special laboratory tests that may be indicated by the youngster's condition. Thus, he determines whether a blood test or a metabolism test should be administered. Since his findings will be used by the layman, the report should consist of more than an enumeration of the child's weaknesses and should include an evaluation of their significance and the remedial suggestions. The physician must remember that he is examining a youngster who is likely to be quite sensitive, and he must therefore guard his comments, particularly if he is dictating his findings to a secretary while the pupil is present. In one case, the doctor, speaking to himself as he made his notes, said,

[2] For the conduct of an interview with the parent or the child, see page 211 ff.

"Pubescence well developed," and the adolescent boy, misunderstanding the word, felt that his personal habits had already resulted in physical decay. Medical terminology is replete with terms that awe the child; caution is necessary lest the examination itself complicate his problems.

If possible, the child should be given an individual mental examination by a skilled psychologist, for the usual group intelligence test as administered by the teacher is inadequate for revealing the quality of the child's reactions. A statement of the pupil's mental age and intelligence quotient is necessary but insufficient. The tests given the child should include measures of his achievement in the various school subjects, vocational aptitudes, special abilities and disabilities, and personality traits revealed during the examination.

The case-study outline reprinted above omits all purely psychiatric items because such factors should not be investigated by the teacher. The psychiatrist who examines the pupil should be more than a physician who has specialized in mental disorders and whose background easily leads him to exaggerate the significance of the child's behavior problems. He must be deeply interested in children and should be a person who can see the child's difficulties as the pupil himself views them, but who can indicate more desirable methods of overcoming them. Because of the unfortunate association of psychiatry and insanity that laymen make, it is desirable not to use the title "psychiatrist," but rather to let the child believe that he is being referred to the usual physician.

The careful analysis of the child and his background is a necessary preliminary to treatment, but the collection of data is of little value unless they are interpreted and applied. Preparation of the synthesis and formulation of remedial suggestions are difficult and demand experience and insight.

The amount of time required for the case study is of itself a sufficient reason for not asking the teacher to undertake the burden. Though the teacher will always be the one who deals

with minor cases of maladjustment, she does not have the time or the training necessary for treating the more complicated problems. When circumstances compel the teacher to rely upon her own resources, she will have to abbreviate the case study. Where possible, she should check her conclusions by discussion with the principal or other teachers. In many schools it is the principal who supervises the child's readjustment, but he too has little time for an adequate investigation.

Several schools have organized mental-hygiene committees with the result that groups of teachers meet to discuss the cases of the behavior-problem children. These committees function continuously and can therefore follow the child's career over a number of terms, while the efforts of the individual teacher cease when the pupil leaves her class at the end of the term. The cumulative experience gained by service on such committees, with the opportunities it affords of seeing how different teachers view the problem and of observing the efficacy of various types of solution, increases the teacher's ability to interpret and to remedy children's maladjustment. The committee reduces the burden for any teacher by providing for division of labor among its members.

If the mental-hygiene committee is to be effective, it must be more than a disguised disciplinary committee; the change in title is significant only when it indicates a definite improvement in the point of view and the procedure. The committees should be small and numerous—a committee of four or five teachers is preferable—since larger groups tend to be inefficient, to increase the danger of divided responsibility, and to delegate most of the work to a few teachers. Service on such committees must be voluntary if the work is to be viewed as a challenge and not as a chore. To reduce the impersonality of a committee and the divided responsibility, each case is referred to a sub-committee of one, that makes periodic reports to the larger group. The committee should not limit its studies

solely to the school situation, but should seek to include as many of the items listed in the case-study outline as its time and facilities permit.

If a visiting teacher is available,[3] she, rather than the classroom teacher, should direct the efforts that are being made to help the behavior-problem child. She has the time for the necessary investigation and follow-up; her experience in social work and with the readjustment of problem pupils serve her in good stead. Unfortunately the visiting teacher is so handicapped by the large territory she must cover and by the absence of clerical help that she can deal with only the more serious instances of maladjustment and must close her cases before she is fully satisfied with the solution.

The child-guidance clinic is the most promising agency for treating the child with a serious behavior problem. The good clinic has competent psychologists, psychiatrists, pediatricians, and social workers, with sufficient clerical help to relieve the professional staff of routine work. It can therefore plan a penetrating study of the child's problem and a far-sighted program of correction.

Available studies indicate that child-guidance clinics have been successful in improving children's emotional health and personal adjustments. In a group of 200 clinic cases, Lee and Kenworthy find that 48 per cent improved markedly, and 31 per cent made a partial improvement.[4] Greene reports that psychiatric guidance aided 50 per cent of her group of high-school girls whose problems arose from poor scholarship and 80 per cent of those whose difficulties manifested themselves in nervous traits or physical disorders.[5] The Glueck investigation

[3] See pages 216–218 for the discussion of the visiting-teacher movement.

[4] P. R. Lee and M. E. Kenworthy, "Mental Hygiene and Social Work" (New York, Division of Publications, The Commonwealth Fund, 1929), p. 141.

[5] E. Greene, "Results of Five Years Psychiatric Work in New York City High Schools," *Mental Hygiene,* Vol. 11, No. 3 (July, 1927), pp. 542–557.

of the effectiveness of the clinic attached to a juvenile court yielded less flattering results.[6]

From the statistical standpoint these studies are not conclusive. "Improvement" can hardly be defined and measured objectively; the child's disorder may merely have taken a turn that is less easily noted by the clinic. In some studies the absence of a control group makes it impossible to tell how many of these children would have improved without special care. How many of the clinic's failures are the results of delayed reference of the child? The skill of the clinic's personnel plays so important a part in determining the success of the treatment that one cannot evaluate *the child-guidance clinic* as though it were an impersonal and unvarying agency. However, the teacher who is interested in her pupils' emotional health more than she is in experimental studies of clinics cannot help endorsing the efforts of the child-guidance clinics that have unquestionably benefited some children who were on the way to more serious emotional disturbances.

THE PROGRAM OF READJUSTMENT

The program of readjustment consists of two phases: first, the immediate task of eliminating the most objectionable symptoms of the child's problems; second, the plan for correcting the basic maladjustment.

The immediate problem of removing the most glaring manifestations of the pupil's difficulties cannot be dismissed by the psychiatrist as an insignificant detail, nor can it be regarded by the teacher as a complete solution. Out of consideration for the rest of her class and the youngster himself, the teacher must find some temporary stop-gap that will keep the child from stealing his classmate's fountain pens, that will

[6] S. Glueck and E. T. Glueck, "One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents," *The Survey of Crime and Criminal Justice in Boston*, conducted by the Harvard Law School (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1934), Vol I.

bring the truant to school, and that will shift the egocentric child's attention away from himself.

For this phase of the work, the teacher has two general procedures available; ordinarily, she will use both for each child. First, she can remove the immediate cause of the pupil's misconduct. She can reduce the temptation to theft that is presented by children's habits of leaving money in their coats, which are then kept in unlocked wardrobes. It is easier to take a few minutes each morning collecting their money for safe keeping and then returning it at dismissal time than to attempt to discover who has the nickel that Dorothy lost. The pupil whose mind wanders easily from the lesson at hand can be assigned interesting tasks and monitorial positions that keep him so busy that he has little time left for brooding. Such arrangements as these can be made without exposing to the class the personality problems of any individual child. The additional precautions are often sufficient to satisfy the immediate need.

Secondly, a temporary improvement can be stimulated by introducing additional incentives. The teacher praises the pupil's work and may send a commendatory note home. The overage student can be led to envisage the possibility of an extra promotion. The truant is appointed to a monitorial position which brings him to school before the corner gang has had time to assemble. Some youngsters respond to progress charts whereon they receive a star for each day of desirable conduct; thus, the seven-year-old who is trying to control his enuresis is given a star on every morning when he reports that his bed is dry.

The teacher who uses these remedies must be prepared to have her class regard them as signs of favoritism. She can reduce the amount of class resentment by introducing the necessary changes as part of a larger plan of reorganization; thus, she can appoint five new monitors and include her problem pupil as one of the five. Added precautions can be

taken, for example, by locking the supply closet when she leaves the room unguarded, without publicizing her intentions. The attitude with which teacher and pupils regard each other influences their reactions to her treatment of the problem child. If the teacher regularly recognizes all efforts at improvement, the class will think nothing of her praising the progress made by the behavior-problem youngster.

There is no specific pattern that can be prescribed for the ultimate solution to the child's problems. The essence of a successful program is the absence of an inflexible plan. The youngster's needs must determine what will be done. In one case the pupil will be sent to the oculist; in another case the teacher will try to change the family's attitude toward a daughter; in a third case the boy will be transferred to another type of school; and in a fourth, he may be referred to a psychiatrist for further treatment. The remedial measures will, of necessity, resemble the "shot-gun" prescription from which modern medicine tries to depart; the paucity of accurate information on the ultimate causes of emotional maladjustment and on specific remedies compels the teacher to try several proposals simultaneously. Thus, for a given child, she may speak to the mother, secure new clothing from the parents' association fund, give him special instruction in arithmetic, and urge him to join a Boy Scout troop.

The teacher must not assume that every unpleasant mannerism has deep-rooted psychiatric significance and need not overlook the improvement that can be occasioned by modifying the child's habits. Some of the child's modes of adjustment can be influenced by surface treatment, for they represent nothing more than habits that must be modified. The youngster may have resorted to temper tantrums so often that he flies into a rage as soon as his will is crossed, even though his desire "to dominate, to be first" is no greater than the next pupil's. Children, like adults, develop habits that are continued only because of the inconvenience occasioned by the

attempt to change them. Habits are modified more easily by the constructive process of building a contrary, desirable response than by punishment of the undesirable one. The suggestions given above for treating temper tantrums [7] and for reconditioning the youngster who would not walk down the stairs alone [8] indicate how undesirable habitual responses can be changed.

With the more stubborn cases of maladjustment, modifying habitual responses is inadequate, for the child then substitutes other undesirable mechanisms. It is with these children that the teacher has the difficult task of discovering the cause of the disorders and of substituting more wholesome procedures. The case study will usually suggest the nature of the child's problem and may even indicate a remedial program; psychiatric investigation may be needed in the more difficult instances. Though there are no uniform procedures for gratifying the youngster's emotional needs, for one cannot improve the pupil's sense of security without knowing what it is that makes him feel insecure, the underlying causes of the behavior must be recognized and redirected to reach a solution.

Children's smoking, for example, is rarely controlled by the teacher who doesn't know why they smoke. Most juvenile smokers are not habitual smokers, even though they say they are. One way of being grown up is to imitate the adult's practices, as when we see young children borrowing their parents' clothing and having a grand time playing "grown-ups." All are familiar with the college freshman who purchases a pipe and, between gasps, complains of his inability to break the habit.

Since children's smoking is socially disapproved of, the maladjusted pupil seeks it as a means of feigning adjustment. It gives him the reputation of being tough and of being a grown-up. In the company of the children who consider them-

[7] See page 139 ff.
[8] See page 40 ff.

selves hard-boiled, smoking is accepted as one of the qualifications for entry. That the factor of suggestion and imitation is also at work is evidenced by the fact that it is through the gang that the boy is often introduced to the habit.

Modern commercial practices encourage children's use of tobacco. Cigarettes are so cheap that several pupils, pooling their resources, can easily purchase a package. Tobacco advertisements are persistent and appeal to varied human drives. Popular radio comedians and orchestras are sponsored by tobacco firms; bill-boards and newspapers feature photographs of sports figures and motion-picture stars who endorse a given brand of cigarette. Even young girls, in their attempt to imitate the screen's sophisticates, are forming the habit formerly restricted to boys of stealing a puff "behind the barn." Smoking is identified in the child's mind with the personality of those he would like to emulate.

Not much need be done with the typical youngster of ten or twelve who seeks the thrill of a stolen cigarette smoke; physiological reactions are sufficient to make the experience unpleasant. Nevertheless, the teacher and the parent must be alert to the early stages of the formation of the habit, since all reactions are easier to eliminate before they have become thoroughly imbedded in the organism.

In the school's attempt to help the pupil overcome the use of tobacco, both temporary remedies and more fundamental solutions are employed. The teacher often discovers that the child smokes only when he is with a certain crowd, perhaps the group that loiters in the corner candy store during the noon recess. Some teachers employ the device of offering the child a monitorial position that involves his being in school so early that he doesn't have time to repair to the hang-outs of his gang. If the school substitutes equally satisfying but more beneficial companionships, it assists the child in breaking the bonds that tied him to tobacco.

The use of tobacco as the pupil's way of increasing the re-

semblance between himself and the person he admires can be controlled by setting up new models for imitation. Since athletics has already achieved the tradition of requiring a method of training that necessitates abstinence from tobacco, using athletes as models for imitation helps the teacher to reduce a pupil's smoking. The athletics coach of the school is often a helpful influence in controlling the habit.

In conversation with a boy, the teacher must point out not merely the harmfulness of the habit to a growing boy but also its childishness. Instead of playing it up so that it seems a vice, it must be looked down upon as something the youngster is too immature to control. His wish for recognition must be satisfied in other ways, as has already been indicated. Smoking may be a symptom of maladjustment. It is a way whereby he can show his defiance of his parents and his teacher. If the school can remove the source of the maladjustment, the symptom will also disappear.

Adjustment is more than the passive process of submitting to environmental conditions; it implies the ability to modify the environment to meet one's desires and needs. The process of readjustment also involves the control of forces outside the child. The influence of such factors as a bad home, a serious physical defect, a misfit curriculum, may result in such emotional strain that the youngster cannot effect his better adjustment until some one removes the obstacles. Hence, any school mental-hygiene program that is limited to inspirational talks and to interviews with the pupil and his parents is insufficient for correcting instances of serious maladjustment. What can the teacher do to ameliorate these predisposing factors in emotional disorders? It is with this question that the succeeding chapters are concerned.

Problems for Study and Discussion

1. One of those principals who are always overemphasizing the need for 100 per cent participation in such activities as joining a particular

professional organization or contributing to a specific charity, now asks all of his teachers to volunteer to serve on one of the school's mental-hygiene committees.

How does such a practice destroy most of the benefits to be derived from these committees?

2. Antonia is a poor, undernourished, undersized, and dull girl of eleven in a IV A class. All term long she has been sullen and disobedient, but has not been made the subject of a case study because her offenses, though numerous, have been relatively minor.

One day, Miss E., a substitute teacher, came to class instead of the regular teacher who was ill. Antonia immediately took the initiative in leading a general revolt against the new teacher's authority. At one point, Antonia strode about the room taking pencils and books from her classmates' desks. Miss E. ordered Antonia back to her seat, and the girl replied that she would do as she pleased. The teacher then sent the girl to the principal's office, but the girl refused to go. When Miss E. took the girl by the arm, Antonia kicked the teacher and bit her. Miss E. then lifted Antonia up bodily and carried her out of the room screaming and kicking.

Antonia spent three terms in the I A and two terms in the II B. Since then she has been promoted regularly. She had the same teacher for the II B, III A, and III B. These were the only terms during which Antonia received passing grades in both work and conduct.

a. What additional information would you need before you could feel fairly certain that you understand the background of Antonia's difficulties?

b. Why are these specific items of information essential?

c. How would you proceed in order to get this information?

3. If you were a school principal, would you engage a young teacher who had just had a serious nervous breakdown caused by her having "studied too hard"?

How could you defend your position if you were challenged by the school board?

4. Wherein is the length of the case-study outline an indication of how limited is our knowledge of the exact causes of maladjustment?

5. Should school misconduct *always* be interpreted as symptomatic of emotional maladjustment? Should school misconduct *ordinarily* be interpreted as symptomatic of maladjustment?

6. Is there any real distinction between the expressions "the problem child" and "the child with a problem"?

7. Obviously, the classroom teacher does not have the time and the facilities needed for making a complete study of each behavior-problem child. Which items in the case-study outline can she afford to omit?

8. How can a teacher modify classroom routine for her problem

children without giving the rest of the class the impression that she is unfair and is playing favorites?

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VI

DEVIATION IN MENTAL ABILITY AS A FACTOR IN MALADJUSTMENT

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INNATE INTELLIGENCE AND PROBLEM BEHAVIOR

THE ease with which the intelligence quotient is computed and the conceded importance of native mentality as one of the factors influencing school success have led many investigators to measure the relationship between problem behavior and variations in mental ability. If we include the studies that have traced the influence of native intelligence on specific manifestations of problem behavior—delinquency or truancy, for example—the amount of data is formidable. Though the total picture of the significance of mental level as a factor in emotional health and wholesome adjustment is definite, there are frequent contradictions in the results of individual investigators. These differences arise from the methods of selecting cases and from the use of inappropriate statistical procedures.

Reasons for Contradictory Experimental Findings. It is shown elsewhere[1] that the definition of what constitutes problem behavior varies with the agency that is referring the child for study. Pupils who are considered problems by their teachers show a disproportionate number of youngsters of inferior mental ability. These students attract attention in schools because of their repeated failures in class and the conduct difficulties resulting therefrom. On the other hand, investi-

[1] See page 253.

gations of children referred to a habit clinic by their parents generally indicate a higher average intelligence for the problem child, for two reasons. First, since the home adjusts itself more readily than the school to differences in ability, fewer children are referred to the clinic for problems arising from minor degrees of mental retardation. Secondly, it takes superior parents to recognize the necessity for securing aid in overcoming children's undesirable personality traits; the children of such parents tend, as a group, to be superior in native intelligence. Moreover, some child-guidance clinics, centering their attention on the personality patterns of normal children, refer the mentally deficient youngster to other agencies. The interpretations of the numerous studies of the intelligence of behavior-problem children must therefore take account of the source of the data.

The statistical treatment of the results influences the nature of the conclusions. The problem child is compared with the normal child in terms of the average intelligence quotients of the two groups, despite the fact that differences in average level ignore the amount of overlapping of the two groups. In this way, the statement that the average intelligence quotient in a given group of problem pupils is five points lower than that in a comparable group of normal youngsters, suggests the erroneous conclusion that every member of the problem group is inferior to every member of the control group. Further analysis of the data will reveal many instances where some of the maladjusted children were superior to most of the normal ones. It is inadequate for any investigator to tell us of the difference between the average intelligence of normal and problem children unless he also helps us to see how much overlapping there is between the two groups.

Many investigators have computed the coefficient of correlation between intelligence and some index of problem behavior, even though correlation measures group rather than individual tendencies, and problem behavior can be understood

only by studying each child as an individual. The correlation between intelligence and problem behavior has been misinterpreted as proving the existence of a causal relationship between them. Other studies ignore the fact that the coefficient of correlation is spuriously low when the group is small or homogeneous. Any investigation of the relationship between problem behavior and native intelligence among the pupils of a single elementary-school class is bound to yield a rather low coefficient of correlation, regardless of how these two traits may be correlated in the general population.

Even the measure frequently used as an index of the degree of correlation, the Pearson product-moment coefficient of correlation, r, is often inappropriate for these studies. This measure is recommended by statisticians only when the relationship is linear;[2] that is, where increasing superiority in one trait is accompanied by increasing superiority in the second trait, or where increasing superiority in one trait is accompanied by decreasing superiority in the second trait. To illustrate, r can be used to measure the relationship between height and weight, for in general the taller person is the heavier. This measure can also be used to determine the correlation between the age at which youngsters are graduated from school and their intelligence quotients, for usually the older the graduate is, the duller.

The Pearson product-moment coefficient of correlation should not be used where the relationship is positive at some levels and negative at others. Thus, it is invalid to compute r between age and the time it takes the person to walk a mile. With children, increasing age reduces the time; among adults, there is little relationship between the two traits until the approach of old age, when increasing years retards the speed

[2] This discussion of the difference between linear and curvilinear correlation has necessarily been oversimplified here. Any standard textbook in educational or psychological statistics will contain a more comprehensive treatment of this item.

of walking. To use *r*, and to permit the positive correlation at one level to cancel the negative correlation at another level, is to arrive at an erroneous conclusion; thus one might conclude that there is no relationship at all between age and ability to walk a mile.

Careful studies indicate that the greater the deviation from normal mentality, both in the direction of superior mentality as well as inferiority, the more frequent are behavior difficulties. Among dull children, there is negative correlation between intelligence and problem tendencies and among bright children, a positive one. Combining both groups indiscriminately and computing the product-moment coefficient of correlation for the single large group yield a spuriously low measure of relationship. Whether the investigator should use the *Correlation Ratio* or some other measure depends on the group he is studying. The statement that the Pearson product-moment coefficient of correlation indicates little relationship between native mentality and problem behavior is unjustified.

The Results of Objective Investigations. All investigators are agreed that the *range* of intelligence is approximately the same for problem children and for comparable normal youngsters. There are both bright and dull pupils in each group. There is no point in the distribution of intelligence above or below which all youngsters are either normal or maladjusted. The teacher cannot rely upon the pupil's intelligence quotient as the single criterion for determining whether or not the youngster is well adjusted.

In most studies, the average intelligence of behavior-problem children has been shown to be appreciably lower than that of comparable normal youngsters. Owens[8] finds the median intelligence quotient of boys admitted to the Lee Disciplinary School in Philadelphia during the year 1926–1927 to be 75

[8] A. A. Owens, "The Behavior-Problem Boy—a Socio-Educational Survey (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1929), p. 45.

for the white boys and 80 for the colored. Olson, summarizing the results of a survey of problem tendencies in children, reports:[4]

> The results . . . may be accepted as significant evidence of a group tendency for unacceptable behavior to be associated with low intelligence. The coefficients are not sufficiently high, however, to be significant from the standpoint of individual prediction.

Other investigations corroborate the work of Owens and Olson.

The teacher must remember that comparing the average of two groups of children tells only part of the story. There is so much overlapping between the two groups that a great many problem children are brighter than most stable youngsters are. It is therefore as unwarranted to conclude that all dull youngsters are bound to be maladjusted as it is to believe that every feeble-minded person is a potential criminal or that every brilliant child is emotionally unstable.

The comparisons of behavior at various levels of intelligence indicate that children with average mentality are better adjusted than are children either brighter or duller than most youngsters. This is to be expected in a world where the environment is adapted to the average level of mentality. Though Terman reported only 11.9 per cent of unselected school children to have intelligence quotients above 115, Anderson found 17.3 per cent of the children at the child-guidance clinic at that level. Similarly, Terman found that 11.2 per cent of unselected school children have intelligence quotients below 85; in the child-guidance clinic 20.3 per cent were in that group. An examination of Anderson's data indicates that the greater the deviation from normal intelligence, the more numerous were cases of problem behavior.

Both H. L. Hollingworth and Tendler have found that subnormal individuals are more likely to suffer from functional

[4] W. C. Olson, *Problem Tendencies in Children* (Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota Press, 1930), p. 47.

TABLE I

A COMPARISON OF THE INTELLIGENCE OF CHILDREN REFERRED TO A CHILD-GUIDANCE CLINIC AND OF UNSELECTED SCHOOL CHILDREN *

I.Q.	(A) Terman's 1000 Unselected School Children	(B) 320 Child-Guidance Clinic Problem Children	(C) Per Cent That B Is of A
125 and over	2.9	10.7	369
115–124	9.0	6.6	73
105–114	23.1	18.6	81
95–104	33.9	22.2	65
85–94	20.1	21.6	107
75–84	8.6	11.6	135
Below 75	2.6	8.7	335

* Adapted from R. G. Anderson, "The Problem of the Dull-Normal Child," *Mental Hygiene*, Vol 11, No. 2 (April, 1927), pp. 272–286. Printed by permission of *Mental Hygiene*.

disorders than are comparable individuals with normal or superior mental levels.[5]

Dull children contribute more than their share of behavior disorders. In Owens' group, only nine tenths of one per cent of the group had an I.Q. above 110, while 83.6 per cent were below 90.[6] Clark's study of truancy showed 2 per cent of his group to be above average in mentality and 82.3 per cent to be below average.[7] Anderson, studying sixty-five juvenile-court delinquents, discovered that only 1.5 per cent of her cases had intelligence quotients above 115 and 72 per cent below 85.[8] Though mental inferiority alone does not cause emotional disorder—one must not forget the great number of sound dullards and the presence of unadjusted bright children—mental deficiencies do increase the obstacles to desirable per-

[5] H. L. Hollingworth, "The Psychology of Functional Neuroses" (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1920), pp. 80–99.

A. D. Tendler, "The Mental Status of Psychoneurotics," *Archives of Psychology*, No. 60 (March, 1923).

[6] A. A. Owens, "The Behavior-Problem Boy—A Socio-Educational Survey" (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1929), p. 45.

[7] W. W. Clark, "A Statistical Study of 102 Truants," *Journal of Delinquency*, Vol. 3, No. 5 (September, 1918), pp. 213–233.

[8] R. G. Anderson, "The Problem of the Dull-Normal Child," *Mental Hygiene*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (April, 1927), p. 275.

sonality patterns. The rôle of the environment in contributing to disorders among the dull is well shown by Martz: [9]

In a series of 432 consecutive admissions to Letchworth Village [an institution for the feeble-minded] with I.Q.'s of 50 or more, 75 per cent were behavior problems as well as mentally deficient. In over one half of these behavior cases, the children very largely corrected their own misconduct in from three months to a year through the medium of a less critical, more favorable environment.

The child's native intelligence is one of the factors that affect his adjustment though it cannot be regarded as the only one. His mental attainments are predisposing rather than precipitating causes of disorder. Mental deviations interfere with healthful adjustments by increasing the tension, thus the unusual pupil finds the school work ill-suited to his ability. The pupil's mentality affects the efforts he can make to overcome obstacles.

MENTAL AND EMOTIONAL FACTORS IN MALADJUSTMENT

Inferior Mentality. Inadequate mentality is often an important contributing cause of problem behavior because it reduces the child's ability to meet the demands of the environment. As a result of this failure, he is subjected to additional stresses until he makes an adjustment which compensates for his initial lack of ability.

Margaret, who is twelve years old, has the mentality of a normal ten-year-old. In school, she experiences difficulty in doing the work performed by the other pupils. Part of the work she does not understand at all. Failure, particularly when the pupil is competing with children who are younger and smaller, encourages an attitude which belittles the importance of the usual school virtues. Margaret therefore is inattentive and has no reason to be interested in activities that always turn out to be unsuccessful. Her classroom misconduct offers the necessary release for her energies which demand some outlet.

[9] E. W. Martz, "Backward Children from the Point of View of a State School," *Mental Hygiene*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (January, 1933), p. 96.

In her attempt to get the social recognition she wants, this girl assumes the leadership in the popular pastime of baiting the teacher and succeeds in directions where her disability is less marked.

Lehman and Witty[10] have noted that children who are considered retarded by the school participate more freely in socialized forms of recreation than do the accelerated pupils. To the extent that these activities facilitate social adjustment and satisfy emotional needs, they assist dull children to enjoy mental health. The relationship between mental inferiority and school failure on the one hand and the increased frequency of social activities on the other need not prove that either factor causes the other. It does indicate, however, that the teacher must not regard the child's mental inferiority as the sole cause of maladjustment.

Inferior mentality is not an absolute term; it is relative to the demands that are made upon the individual's mentality. An intelligence quotient of 70 is not a true dividing line between normality and subnormality. The child with an intelligence quotient of 115, born into a professional family where attendance at college and then the university is expected and where all the other members of the family have been honor graduates, may be treated by the home as though he were mentally inferior. On the other hand, the child with an intelligence quotient of 50 who is well developed physically and who has an agreeable personality may get along well if his family is also mentally inferior and if the community demands are simple.

At a large state institution for the feeble-minded, a visitor who was impressed by the absence of walls and fences asked what the authorities did when a boy escaped. The guide answered, "Nothing. If he can run away and get along so well in the community that he is not referred to us by the police, he has automatically won his diploma." Although this attitude

[10] H. C. Lehman and D. A. Witty, *The Psychology of Play Activities* (New York, A. S. Barnes and Co., 1927), p. 214.

does have its limitations, it is based on a fundamental truth: a person is feeble-minded when his mentality is too low to enable him to fit into his community.

Mental inferiority is a cause of problem behavior in class only when the school refuses to accept the challenge presented by the pupil whose deficiency renders the ordinary curriculum and procedure inappropriate. The school can remove many of the difficulties presented by the mentally deficient pupil by adjusting the curriculum so that the demands made upon him are in accordance with his abilities. One can almost say that inferior mentality is acquired rather than innate, and that it is the demands of the environment rather than the child's mental deficiencies that are at the root of the problem presented.

At this date it is unnecessary to argue for the establishment of special schools and classes for the feeble-minded pupil. Theoretically at least, the community has admitted the need for special education for the retarded child, although evidence presented to the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection indicates that only 60,000 of the 450,000 feeble-minded school children in the United States are receiving the necessary special training.

The children for whom little is done are those whose mentality is below normal yet above definite feeble-mindedness. These pupils are kept in the traditional schools where they stumble along and repeat classes until they find themselves with children their own mental age, but much younger chronologically. When these youngsters then do work of a passing grade, the teacher does not realize that they are retarded mentally, educationally, and often emotionally. Some teachers even assert that leaving such pupils back demonstrates to the child the necessity for concentration and point to the fact that many pupils who are repeatedly failed in the lower grades "learn their lesson" and then do satisfactory work.

Superior Mentality. The school usually rewards the bright

student so richly that it does not see how superior mentality may be as truly a cause of maladjustment as inferior mentality. Since class activities are paced by the average pupil, they present so little challenge to the superior student that he is as uninterested as the duller child. Quickly grasping the import of the questions asked in class, he becomes impatient when the teacher ignores his proffered answer in order to draw the more diffident or more stupid pupils into the lessons. The school cannot ask all pupils to work at his level of ability and proceeds so slowly that his impatience leads to misconduct. His interests are more varied than those of the average child, and an unsympathetic formal school consequently seems more confining to him.

As the superior student progresses to higher levels of the educational system, he finds the competition increasingly keen; his former outstanding superiority now turns to mediocrity. Not realizing that it is the competition rather than his ability that has changed, he may interpret his failure to distinguish himself as the consequence of a decaying mind. As has been mentioned earlier, mental inadequacy is a consequence of environmental demands as well as of individual ability, and the superior student who is pursuing too difficult a program of studies may consider himself inadequate in the struggle for success in life. All college professors can testify to the marked feeling of inferiority encountered so often among superior students.

Adolescence is often a more trying period for the superior youth than it is for those of lesser ability. A group of college students is often far less happy than is a less intelligent group of equal age. The superior person is more likely to be introspective and to exaggerate the significance of his own shortcomings. In the period when his vocational future is bound to be uncertain, he paints too dark a picture of the outlook. A duller youth is content to take a minor position "till things look up," but the brighter one sees nothing but failure ahead.

His very education opens up vistas and sets up goals that he thinks he cannot attain.

The bright child is quick at learning ways of dominating his family and may resort to temper tantrums as soon as he recognizes their efficacy. His precocity increases the likelihood of his being "spoiled" by doting relatives. Accustomed to success and to public commendation, he grows to expect recognition of his superiority and is unhappy when his companions are not as willing as adults to acknowledge his superiority. The misconduct of the intelligent pupil can frequently be understood as motivated by the desire to hold the center of the stage.

Reference has already been made to Lehman and Witty's report that the accelerated student participates in fewer group leisure activities than do the retarded and the average pupils. There is therefore the limitation that he will be deprived of the socializing values of coöperative play. The bright pupil may be unable to find companions of similar mental ability and may thus develop into the shy or retiring youngster. If he has been accelerated at school, he is often far too young to be acceptable to his classmates as a social companion; when he is in the same grade with children of equal chronological age, the difference in mental ability and interests tends to keep him from his classmates. His academic interests offer too ready a substitute for social play, and both parent and teacher frequently encourage his devoting too much time to solitary leisure activities.

Children, like adults, often ridicule the superiority of those whose achievements they cannot emulate. Classroom success sometimes leads to unpopularity on the playground; "professor" can be a title of distinction, but it can also be an opprobrious epithet. One seven-year-old whose intelligence quotient placed him in the upper tenth of one per cent of the general population spent the summer at a family resort. There one of the guests, wishing to reassure himself of the

youngster's brilliance, started a conversation about the meaning of π. The child knew the meaning of π, its numerical value, and the applications to problems of mensuration. Two little girls in the group soon lost interest in a topic that was so far beyond them and left. As they turned away, one of them remarked to the other, "Billy is such a nice boy, but sometimes he talks such nonsense." Their reactions illustrate the way in which a child's superiority may lead to social disapproval of his activities.

The school devotes so much attention to the problems presented by dull children that it generally fails to give adequate attention to those presented by the gifted pupil. Though his superior mentality will aid him in making the ultimate adjustment, he should receive the assistance a trained and sympathetic teacher can offer.

The Talented Child. When the child with a special talent becomes a behavior problem, his gift offers both a clue to understanding his behavior and a motive for improving his adjustment. The youngster's troubles may grow out of the excessive efforts he is devoting to his talent. The child who spends four hours a day practising his music lessons has little time to prepare for his work at school. The strain of this special training, with the overstimulation of late evening concerts and the excitement of exhibits and exhibitionism, interferes with his normal sleep habits and also makes the school's daily routine seem tame indeed. The youngster may develop the exaggerated point of view that music or painting or sculpture is all that matters.

The traditional school makes little provision for cultivating the pupils' special talents. The parents may therefore consider the school's demands to be unsuited to their child; the resulting conflict between home and school is conducive to maladjustment. The talent may subject the child to so much additional attention at home that he cannot adapt himself to treatment as one of a great many pupils. At home, conduct

that is not tolerated in the ordinary child is condoned as a manifestation of genius. In fact, he is often praised for the unsocial habits he is developing and is sent to school equipped with an array of undesirable behavior patterns.

The presence of a special talent does not imply the inevitability of compensatory weaknesses. The child must not be led to believe that his special ability excuses failure in other directions, or that his mere presence is always to win public recognition and acclaim. The difference between confidence and conceit can be discerned even by the youngster. The school and the home should not complicate problems by giving the child the impression that he is a genius and entitled to the recognition accorded genius.

Although children's talents should be cultivated carefully, centering the educative process about that gift is not always wise. The child whose ability is recognized early may not be a potential genius at all. Parents are ready to assume that the little girl who is diligent at her piano lessons will grow up to be a concert pianist. If this ambition is but one of many that the child has, and if she has also been prepared to take her place in that part of life in which professional music is not the mainstay, failure to attain the heights of a professional musical career will not be a tragedy for her. It is a dangerous practice to decide when the child is still young what the destination of his career will be and then to prepare the youngster on an "all-or-none" basis. To discover one's mediocrity after having spent many years preparing for the maturation of a gift that does not exist is a shock to which children should not be exposed.

In the education of the gifted child, parents and teachers must realize that adequate personal adjustment is just as important for the gifted child as it is for the mediocre one. The special talent should be used as the means of motivating wholesome personality development. Though special training may be desirable, it certainly is unwise to permit the young

child to become so imbued with the idea of his own actual and potential greatness that the activities and interests of normal child life are forgotten. Whether special training and special education should be recommended for a given child must be determined separately for each case. The answer should not be left to the narrow specialist to whom nothing is as important as that talent; the entire child and the whole problem of adjustment must be considered. Is an emotionally unstable, unhappy, mediocre artist any more valuable to himself or to society than is a better adjusted adult to whom art is only one of the important phases of a complete life? The case cited above[11] as illustrating conversion hysteria demonstrates the danger of ignoring the talented child's personality adjustments.

The special ability can supply the motive for the child's self-improvement in both personality growth and school adjustment. The teacher may show the pupil how the career he has chosen for himself requires the development of certain qualities and abilities, and how the work of the school day can be linked to these traits. She can cite the achievements of those who have succeeded in his field as indicative of the ability they had in the type of work she is trying to teach. For example, the singer sees the practical value of studying modern foreign languages. The child who draws well is shown the value of spelling. Once the pupil begins to see some value in the school work, he becomes interested in other activities of the school day. Minor personality changes can be encouraged if the youngster is convinced that they make success in the desired field a little easier.

Teachers of the arts of expression must refrain from making hasty prediction of future distinction awaiting the child poet or artist. There is ample leeway between the extreme of constantly belittling the student's achievements and the other which leads the proficient child to think that he can make a

[11] See page 43.

vocation instead of an avocation of his ability. An adequate and tactfully administered program of educational guidance, vocational guidance, and pupil-teacher contacts can reduce the amount of maladjustment arising from the lack of harmony between ability and desire. Much of the responsibility for such maladjustment falls on the home and can be remedied only by a thorough program of parental education.

The bright and the dull, the talented and those without talent—all may be maladjusted. The teacher cannot regard the pupil's mental level as the single cause of emotional difficulties, for that does not explain why so many children get along well. The child's mentality is part of the situation that influences his present adjustment and that must modify any remedial program.

Emotional Factors. The mechanisms of adjustment that have become habitual with the child may be merely harmless devices for making life a little more pleasant, or they may be important factors in his failure to adapt himself adequately to the needs of his present situation. Any obstacle that interferes with the child's wholesome adjustment should be removed, not ignored. When the child merely ignores these obstacles, he is virtually increasing the difficulties that confront him. Thus the abuse of day-dreaming as a means of obviating the necessity for facing actual conditions or the habit of projecting responsibility for failure to some convenient rather than true cause makes a healthy adjustment difficult. Psychiatrists stress the necessity for facing reality because only by examining the true conditions can undesirable influences be removed. By ignoring or fleeing from the issue, the youngster merely permits the tensions to increase till they break down his defenses against nervous disorders. The school must inculcate the habits of resolving difficulties instead of submitting to them meekly.

Some of the child's mechanisms of adjustment are so undesirable that they constitute problem behavior in themselves.

Temper tantrums, bullying, vandalism, stealing, and sex offenses are objectionable both as symptoms of emotional ill health and as manifestations of asocial conduct. When dealing with these behavior patterns, the teacher must correct the fundamental disorder as well as remove its manifestation, or she will succeed in effecting, not a more wholesome adjustment, but merely a change in its manifestations. The teacher must, therefore, attempt to discover not merely *what* the child does, but *why* he does it.

Where the unwelcome act is merely a habit and not the surface indication of deep-seated unrest, it yields to the usual procedures for redirecting habits. Since many temper tantrums are typical of just such instances of bad habit formation, they are used here to illustrate reëducative procedures.

The infant who is confined attempts to throw off the restraining influences by random movements of the arms and legs. When the interference is mental rather than physical, he makes the same reaction, throws himself upon the floor, and kicks and screams when his wishes are denied. He finds that the reaction is successful because the parent accedes to his request. He is thus being trained to throw himself upon the floor and to scream when he does not get what he wants.

Occasionally, the tantrum is imitative of outbursts seen at home, in school, or on the playground. One mother who sought the teacher's aid in controlling her youngster's outbursts was asked to describe the disciplinary measures used at home. She explained that her husband took care of such problems and that "He first talks to them real nice but if they don't obey he gets mad and shouts at them till he gets blue in the face. Sometimes he just throws them out of the house. When he gets too mad and throws something at them, I try to calm him down a little bit." And the mother wanted to know where her children ever learned to have tantrums.

If parents used as much intelligence and firmness in rearing children as children do in training parents, temper tantrums

would soon cease. The temper tantrum is the end result of a long process of training in which the parents, by refusing the request at first and then yielding, succeed in teaching the child that there is nothing he cannot have if only he will yell loudly enough and long enough.

The typical temper tantrum is an illustration of an undesirable habit that is definitely inculcated by the family.

A three-year-old boy went visiting with his mother one day, and all was quiet until he saw a bar of chocolate on a table. "I want the chocolate," he informed the world, at first in dulcet terms and then in a tone more emphatic and demanding. The request was refused, and the youngster began to weep, threw himself on the floor, kicked, and screamed hysterically. A piece of the bar was given him. He stopped crying, looked at it, then called, "I want the whole chocolate," and repeated his act. He got the whole bar.

For correcting temper tantrums a twofold procedure is possible: first, the youngster must never be permitted to gain his end by resorting to outbursts and must be shown more desirable means for expressing his will; and, second, the audience situation should be removed.

When the youngster enters school, he may attempt to employ the same methods that have proved effective at home. It is the teacher's duty to see that no child ever wins a disputed point as a result of a temper tantrum. When the child makes a request, the teacher must decide whether or not it will be granted; this decision must never be changed as a result of a temper tantrum. Children's endurance is at least as good as their elders'. If the teacher first denies the request and then yields, the child can keep up the demonstration long enough to win the desired goal. Temper tantrums ordinarily disappear quickly, at least so far as the classroom manifestation is concerned, perhaps because they are futile in school.

When a youngster of eight or nine continues this mode of reaction in class, steps should be taken to see whether there is anything really wrong. If there isn't, the school must then attempt to recondition the child's responses. The pupil must

be shown that there are other ways of expressing dissatisfaction. At first, every time the pupil objects according to the manner that has been suggested, his point of view should be taken seriously. If possible, his desire should be acceded to. The teacher thus attempts to set up in the youngster's mind the association that if he objects in one way, he gains consideration, but that the temper tantrum is always ineffective. The elimination of the temper tantrum is comparatively easy, provided that this association of temper outbursts with an unpleasant result is never violated.

Temper tantrums rarely occur in the absence of an audience. An outburst can usually be controlled quickly if the child is isolated from the audience or the audience leaves the child.

In one fifth-grade class, a girl demanded permission to carry the athletic material to the playground where the class was going for its recreation period. On the teacher's refusal, the youngster fell to the floor, kicked for awhile, and then lay motionless as though in a faint. An earlier medical examination having exposed these fainting spells as malingering, the teacher merely ignored the youngster and conducted the class to the recreation room. The classroom door was left open, and the teacher in the next room was asked to look in shortly. Within a few minutes, the girl was in her seat trying the pass the time until the class returned. There were no more fainting spells that term, at least not in school.

The teacher must be careful that no permanent injury results from the tantrum. Unless she is certain that the pupil is not ill, it is better to give the child the necessary attention than to leave him unguarded. Though most children are careful not to injure themselves in a tantrum, the teacher does well to be too careful rather than to take the chance of lasting injury. A medical examination of the temper-tantrum child is therefore strongly recommended.

A sudden serious emotional shock is often the precipitating cause of emotional instability or of problem behavior. The family is usually content to accept the shock as offering a

complete explanation of the breakdown, preferring to ignore the background factors for fear that these will reveal conditions of which the community disapproves. Though it is impossible for a single emotional shock to cause instability, it is equally true that without this shock the youngster would not have collapsed. Since emotional stability is a relative term, a series of such shocks may endanger the youngster's stability and expose him to mental illness. For the most part, the school can do little to reduce the number of such emotional disturbances, though it can teach the child how to bear disappointment, and it can minimize the number and the severity of the shocks administered by the school. It is for this reason that psychiatrists have consistently urged the control of retardation and the development of a thorough program of educational guidance with an adjustment of the school to the students' needs and capacities.

Not as dramatic as a sudden emotional shock, prolonged emotional strain is equally debilitating in effect. Such strain robs the child of the ability to face the stresses of daily life. It is probably because of their influence on emotional strain that poverty, the broken home, and traditional schooling increase emotional instability.

Understanding the rôle of the more fundamental causes of mental disorder must reduce the school's confidence in its ability to attack the problem of maladjustment in any thoroughgoing manner. The school situation treats only the surface indications of maladjustment; the underlying causes are usually outside its jurisdiction.

ADAPTING THE SCHOOL TO DIFFERENCES IN STUDENTS' MENTAL ABILITIES

The Gap Between Theory and Practice. Prior to the beginning of the twentieth century and the advent of the numerous investigations relating to individual differences, schools were organized on the assumption that all pupils were capable

of reaching about the same level of achievement. (Even in those days, it was realized that not all children were equal in intelligence or in learning ability.) Today the investigations of individual differences are so familiar that educators take the facts for granted and assume that the school provides for individual differences when in reality it often ignores them. Many changes have been made in the structure of the educational system, it is true, but retardation and elimination are still the chief means of "providing" for the duller pupils.

Where special provisions are really made, the layman often considers them mere fads. In a large American city, a wave of economy resulted in the closing of the junior high schools, the continuation schools, the parental schools, the junior colleges, and other provisions for children's special needs.

If the school is really to educate in terms of the abilities and the needs of the individual child, it must go beyond problems of organization into the very curriculum and methods of teaching and study. Many schools have already discovered that homogeneous grouping cannot solve the problem unless something is done after the groups have been selected. To rotate teachers from one group to another but to use the same books, curriculum, and examinations contributes little to the cause of individualizing education.

Factors that Hinder Adjusting the School to the Child. The size of the school population is an obstacle to better provision for the students' individualities. One of our state capitals has approximately a hundred children in an entire elementary school Even in fairly large cities the number of children who require a particular type of instruction may be so small that it is difficult to meet their needs. Under these circumstances it is not practicable to introduce many modifications of the course or any type of special instruction that involves much special equipment or many additional teaching positions. On the other hand, the number of children in a single class is sometimes so large that the individual teacher, busy enough

with the barest minimum essentials, has no time, energy, or inclination for individualizing methods of instruction.

Another objection that is emphasized by boards of education (and it is the American tradition that laymen boards of education and not professional educators have the final word in deciding educational questions) is the expense involved in any adequate plan to provide for differences in the pupils' abilities, background, and needs. Their economy is in many instances short-sighted. They forget the expense of retardation and the damage done to children who are failed because they do not succeed with a curriculum that is not adapted to their needs.

The causes of crime are too complex to justify the easy generalization that a better system of education will reduce the incidence of crimes; however, the number of criminals who were first school problems and then juvenile delinquents is sufficiently large to warrant the belief that a system of education which decreases the number of maladjusted children will help reduce the size of the criminal group in a community. The cost of crimes, courts, and prisons is much greater per capita than is the cost of special classes, visiting teachers, and special school programs. Even economy suggests the modification of the school rather than its continued uniformity.

A third difficulty is so ingrained in social and educational philosophy that change is slow. Americans have been told so frequently that all men are created equal that they have come to believe it. They have also become converts to the concept of progress as interpreted to mean that each generation is bound to reach higher social and economic levels than the preceding one. Free, publicly supported high schools encourage the idea that all children are fit material for academic careers. We glory in a so-called ladder system of education where the elementary school prepares for high school and the latter prepares for college. This is a splendid ideal, and Americans have the right to be proud of the way in which they have democratized edu-

cation, yet it has its drawbacks. The high schools have grown so rapidly that they now enroll many students who should never have been permitted to register for a college-preparatory course. When educators attempt to modify the secondary-school curriculum, they face the hostility of parents who are unwilling to agree that their son or daughter is not a potential college student. Such modifications as are made in the nature of secondary instruction are piece-meal and minor.

The educational ladder sometimes leads nowhere and should be modified for many children. At which point of the school system has the child reached the top of the ladder? Is the pupil ready to leave school at the end of the elementary school? When he has completed the high-school course? When he has his college degree? Every graduate school in the country has students who are attempting research work merely because the student has succeeded in completing the undergraduate course at some college. A favorite theme for development at commencement exercises, from elementary school through the university, is to have the orator explain that "commencement means 'beginning,'" that the pupils are entering a new school and are to continue their schooling and not let it go to waste. What teachers must realize is that "commencement" should mean "end" for a great many of the audience so far as academic schooling is concerned. Any well-rounded plan of satisfying children's individual needs must be in terms of a definite school career and must head for a specific grade or school at which point we are ready to permit the pupil's graduation. To let a child progress along a common ladder until he drops off and is "eliminated" is wasteful, cruel, and unintelligent.

Inadequate diagnostic and prognostic measures hinder teachers in determining the needs of the individual child. The school knows something of his general learning ability or native intelligence, but even today it experiences difficulty in measuring his emotional development, his interests, his social

and economic background, his vocational ambitions and possibilities, and the other factors that must be taken into account. It is impossible to predict accurately his success in any given type of activity. Homogeneous grouping usually ignores all factors except learning ability and is to that extent inadequate.

In addition to all these hindrances to the development of a needed plan, there are the human failings of inertia and indifference. Many teachers and administrators are in full sympathy with what has been said concerning the weaknesses of the present educational organization and plan "some day" to attend to the practical problem of changing their procedure or their school organization. However, the pressure of immediate duties is such that "some day" remains in the future. These teachers start with good intentions, but habit is strong, and they soon revert to the original practices.

Varying the Rate of Progress Versus Enriching the Curriculum. The traditional dilemma is whether the school is to provide for individual differences by varying the rate of progress or by "enriching" the curriculum for superior children. Both plans have their merits and their limitations.

The proponents of varying the rate of progress argue that the knowledge that the student will be permitted to proceed as rapidly as he masters the content is a strong incentive for him to exert his best efforts. It is more vital an appeal than that offered by the promise that after he completes the basic work in history, he will be permitted to do more work in history.

In a sense, a variable rate of progress also enriches the curriculum inasmuch as the child is permitted to advance farther in the same length of time and is thus getting more advanced work even in a given subject than is afforded by the traditional curriculum. Moreover, the child's social maladjustment is reduced since children tend to select companions on the basis of equal mental age rather than on equal chronological

age. The bright child who finds himself alone because his classmates greet him with taunts of "bookworm" is now enabled to find the company of children of the same mental level.

A variable rate of progress may be satisfactory for children who are slightly above normal in intelligence, but it is not an adequate solution for the truly superior child, for the talented child, or for the dull child who finds that a variable rate of progress means retardation for him.

Those who favor the enriched curriculum stress the importance of preventing the social maladjustment occasioned by changing the rate of progress. Here is an eleven-year-old girl associating with fourteen-year-old girls who are quite different from her in physiological and social status. What social adjustment can be expected of the fifteen-year-old college freshman who is attending a school where the average age of the entering class is eighteen years? He is looked upon with the intellectual respect and social contempt a normal young man has for infant prodigies. The curriculum can be adjusted and made flexible with less publicity than attends the change in rate of progress. The superior child is not hurried through school at a pace so rapid that it discourages the assimilation of what has been learned. The bright child who has gone through school rapidly simply has not lived long enough to have acquired the experience needed for an understanding and real appreciation of what is discussed in school.

"Enrichment" is a poor word to use when describing the plan for modifying the curriculum to suit the child. No one is opposed to an "enriched" curriculum for bright children. Does it therefore follow that there is to be an "impoverished" curriculum for dull children? Too often "enrichment" in practice means merely adding to the course of study more of the same type of activity. If the additional material is really worth while, may it not be equally desirable for dull pupils?

By all means enrich the curriculum, but let teachers not delude themselves into thinking that anything added to the curriculum automatically enriches it.

Fortunately, the alternatives of change in rate or in content do not exhaust the possibilities of adjustment. Each of these procedures is inadequate because both are based on a premise of doubtful validity. They assume that the course of study is appropriate for all children and that it is merely a question of whether some children are to take more time than others in mastering content or whether it is to be embellished with material that may be omitted without seriously impairing the value of the course followed. They ignore the possibility that the differences among children may be so great and extend in so many directions that a totally different curriculum is necessary.

Retardation. Variation in rate is ordinarily accomplished by means of retardation. Even teachers who are humane and sympathetic are frequently resigned to retardation as a necessary evil of mass education. In terms of the individual child, retardation is so serious a step that it should not be tolerated until all means of prevention have been exhausted.

The typical retarded child is being punished because he has not succeeded in mastering a content that demands a mentality superior to his. Hayes,[12] after studying a group of children who had been retarded at some stage of their elementary-school career, found that these children differed from those who had never been retarded only in their mental level at the time they entered school.

With many good tests available for measuring the intelligence of six-year-old children, it is possible to prevent much retardation either by admitting children to school on the basis of mental age rather than chronological age, or by modifying the course of study for dull six-year-olds. At six years of

[12] E. H. Hayes, "Why Pupils Fail," *Educational Method,* Vol. 13, No. 1 (October, 1933), pp. 25–28.

age, with a mental age of four years and an intelligent quotient of 67, Martin S.[13] entered the I A. He spent three terms in the I A, two in the I B, one in the II A, two in the II B, until at thirteen years he was in the IV A. Then he was examined by a psychologist and admitted to a special class. It took the boy seven years to win admittance to the ungraded class. Are there no ways of preventing such human and educational waste? The dull child is no more responsible for his inferiority than other youngsters are for their mediocrity or superiority. School officials have the equipment for anticipating his failure, and yet because the school refuses to see that he cannot succeed with the work before him, he is the one who is punished so severely.

Most retardation occurs in the first year of the youngster's school career. In a study of thirty-nine of the country's largest cities,[14] it was found that the promotion rate for the first grade was six per cent lower than for the elementary school as a whole. Postponing the introduction to reading eliminates the greatest single cause of retardation in the primary grades. To start a child's formal education by failing him is a ruthless procedure that is not justified by any compensating features.

Retardation may affect the child's personality in numerous ways. He may be so convinced of his own inferiority that he forms the dangerous habit of failure and leaves school convinced that he isn't much good. He may rationalize by agreeing that school isn't worth much anyway and then spend his time getting attention in undesirable ways. He may compensate for his inferiority in school by winning the approval of his playmates by his boldness and ingenuity in breaking the laws of God and of man, including those of the teacher. He is being conditioned against the school and the attitudes or in-

[13] In the school system in which Martin was enrolled, each year was divided into two classes. Thus the pupil ordinarily entered the I A, and then passed successively into the I B, II A, II B, III A, etc.

[14] "Retardation in the First Grade," *The Elementary School Journal*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (October, 1933), p. 90.

terests it stands for. Since he is left to spend his school-day with children who are younger and smaller than he, his stupidity and failures are apparent to all. It is more than a coincidence that studies of problem children reveal an undue proportion of children who have had to repeat grades a number of times.

What gain can be expected from retardation? Otto and Melby attempted to evaluate the threat of failure as a factor in achievement. Their investigation was conducted in four Illinois school systems and used eighteen teachers and 352 pupils. At the end of one term the investigators reported: [15]

> Within the limited range of this study it seems fair to conclude that children who are told at the beginning of the semester that all will be in the following grade the next term do as well on a comprehensive achievement test as children who throughout the semester are reminded that they must do good work or suffer non-promotion. This generalization applies about equally well to the groups in Grade II A as to the groups in Grade V A.

To admit that the threat of retardation is necessary in order to get pupils to do their work is to confess to such teacher ineptitude and inappropriate curriculum as is almost unbelievable. At best, the child who repeats the grade is being exposed to six months' more of instruction in the same content and with the same methods as attended his first attempt in the grade. As much attention and time are given to what he has already mastered as is given to what he did not learn. It is repetition of ordinary instruction, rather than the introduction of the special help he needs.

In many instances, the total gain as a result of this repetition of a grade is not much different from what would have resulted had he been permitted to advance with the others. In a Los Angeles experiment with elementary-school children, it was found that "failing" children who were nevertheless promoted made greater progress during the next term than did

[15] Henry J. Otto and E. O. Melby, "An Attempt to Evaluate the Threat of Failure as a Factor in Achievement," *Elementary School Journal*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 8 (April, 1935), p. 595.

an equivalent group of "failing" children who repeated the grade.[16] Other experiments indicate that promoting children on trial is superior to retardation.[17]

Retardation has been carried to so ridiculous an extreme that children repeat grades even in such appreciation subjects as music and art. It is hardly probable that the child who is "deficient" in his appreciation of music will like it more when he has to repeat the same course. Some high schools are experimenting with the plan of 100 per-cent promotion in civics on the assumption that improved civic attitudes are not fostered by retardation. Students who would ordinarily be compelled to repeat the course are expected to earn extra credit by taking added civic responsibilities in the school.

Yet, the inauguration of a 100 per-cent promotion plan, either in the elementary or secondary school, is not an adequate solution unless changes are made in the curriculum, the methods of teaching, and the school organization in order to take care of those pupils who would ordinarily have failed of promotion. Otherwise, discontinuing the practice of retarding the dull pupils results in such great heterogeneity of pupils' capacity and achievement within any one class that the teacher's difficulties are increased. There is also the likelihood that a plan of automatic promotion will result in lowering the school's standards and in encouraging slovenly work by the pupils. Like retardation, the cumulative effect of the pupil's deficiencies, as he is advanced term after term regardless of his failure to master essential skills, may lead the youngster to feel inferior and dissatisfied with school. The experiments with the 100 per-cent promotion plan have been conducted for relatively short periods. We therefore have no evidence that

[16] V. Klene and E. P. Branson, "Trial Promotion versus Failure," *Educational Research Bulletin* (Los Angeles City Schools), VIII, January, 1929, pp. 6-11.

[17] H. J. Otto, "Pupil Failure as an Administrative Device in Elementary Education," *The Elementary School Journal*, Vol. 34, No. 8 (April, 1934), pp. 576–589.

routine promotions throughout the pupil's entire school career will be as effective as is the experiment when conducted for a year or two. Retardation is not the complete solution for the problem of the dull pupil; neither is the plan of 100 per-cent promotion. What is needed is an appropriate curriculum, or appropriate curricula, individualized methods of teaching, and a flexible school organization to the end that each pupil pursues effectively the program he needs.

Homogeneous Grouping. The value of homogeneous grouping is not as clear as it first appeared to be. Even in large cities, schools are too small to permit as many groups for one grade as are really needed. The differences that are recognized are those of mental ability, while other and equally important variations in pupil ability and interest are ignored. These classifications are not followed up sufficiently; it is usually difficult to tell after a series of visits to the class just how the procedure or curriculum has been modified. Investigations indicate that even in the abilities to learn the several subjects of the curriculum "homogeneous" classes reveal about as much variability as do unselected classes of the same grade.

The practice of homogeneous grouping has even added to the possibilities of maladjustment. In former years, when an observer saw a child weeping as he walked away from the school building on promotion day, it was evident that the pupil had been left back. Today such a child may be found who has been promoted and is weeping because he has to tell his family that he has been promoted to the slow class. One high school was forced by parental protest to abandon an interesting attempt to modify both the rate of progress and the curriculum by means of a triple division of students within the school. Parents objected to having their children labeled as being in the inferior group.

When homogeneous grouping is accompanied by such reactions, the condition is partly the fault of the teacher and the administration. It is not necessary to label the class so that all

may know the status of the pupils. The group can be designated by its grade and room number, with the distinctive number reserved for the official record that the children and their parents never see. Even this precaution is worthless if teachers persist in using such expressions as "So this is supposed to be the bright VI A class," and "No wonder you are in the slow class."

For effective homogeneous grouping, several changes are necessary. First, groups must be selected not merely with respect to mental level. Other factors such as chronological and social age, interests, and goals are to be considered. Second, grouping must be introduced early in the elementary school before the child has failed repeatedly. Third, the content and the procedures followed should be adjusted to the needs and the capacities of the children. Fourth, non-committal designations must be used so that no stigma is attached to membership in any of these groups.

Classroom Procedures Providing for Differences in Students' Mental Abilities. Many aspects of the final solution of this problem of fitting the school to the child lie beyond the power of the individual classroom teacher and must be left to an enlightened public opinion and educational administration. Nevertheless, there is much the teacher can do to mitigate the effect of some of the faults now prevalent.

First, she must acknowledge the presence of different types of interest in the children of her class. Of course she must appeal to the interests that are most common in the class, but she must follow up her general procedure with specific appeals to the special interests of the individual members. Where a student is falling behind in his work because of insufficient interest and effort, it is her responsibility to discover the nature of the motive that will bring forth a greater share of enthusiasm and effort.

She must individualize the work of the class wherever necessary. This is the case with much of the practice material. The

child should be helped to understand that the drill and remedial lessons that he is being asked to do are selected on the basis of *his* needs. Such a procedure calls for much additional work on the teacher's part, but the burden may be lightened by the use of standardized practice material and by the preparation of mimeographed exercises which can be used from term to term.

The assignments given in class must be varied in nature and in difficulty in accordance with children's needs. The tradition that uniform home-work assignments must be given daily to all pupils should be allowed to die, and in its place should be developed the custom of assigning work when and as necessary. Even within the class it is possible and desirable to vary the work in accordance with the differing abilities of the group. This can be accomplished without directing attention to the inferiority of the duller children. When the more difficult work is assigned as additional work to be done voluntarily, the duller members of the class can be trusted not to bother with it long. One teacher arranged her class exercises with the questions ascending in difficulty so that the brighter children who finished early were the ones who tried their hands at the difficult problems. There are any number of means available to the ingenious teacher who is genuinely concerned with ways of finding a solution to the problem.

The methods of instruction must be differentiated. The customary adaptation omits for slow classes all but the fundamentals, the time saved being devoted to drill. The dull children who need added appeals and motivation are ordinarily confronted with the dry details which are usually the least interesting aspects of the subject. Geography as taught in slow classes resembles the old factual type which is fortunately waning in influence elsewhere. This is hardly an adjustment. For slow classes the teacher must omit many of the rational aspects of the subject, but the interesting material should be pre-

served. Thus, all groups of children are interested in the account of how people live in India, but the discussion of the causes and consequences of India's social system may well be reserved for the brighter classes. For dull pupils the illustrations must be concrete. These pupils are not as ready as are bright children to follow up the class discussion with outside reading and project activities unless the teacher can motivate these activities and give the children the impression that they have the ability to do such work.

Most teachers wish to adjust the work to the level of the class, but when custom rotates the teachers among bright, normal, and dull classes, the wish is not father to the deed. Habits of teaching are not easily discarded when the teacher changes from one class to another. Teachers learn to accept and expect certain standards which are modified only slightly for the new class. Furthermore, they may have prepared lesson plans for the various topics of the grade, plans that are easily kept from term to term and thus exercise a standardizing influence on the methods of teaching used.[18] Teachers often look upon a bright class as a reward and a dull class as an irksome assignment, an attitude which is easily communicated to the class unless the teacher is particularly careful.

Some cities are eliminating rotation and are encouraging teachers to specialize in the instruction of dull children. Where this is done, an additional reward must be offered to teachers of such classes in order to compensate for what most people look upon as a distasteful assignment. Such compensation may include a cash bonus, extra credit when service credit for promotion is computed, or the reduced clerical work attendant upon the smaller class register. That teachers of feeble-minded children need special training and experience is already taken

[18] One supervisor asks whether it may not be preferable for teachers to write lesson plans in pencil on scraps of paper instead of typing them on prepared outlines which fit in so carefully with the hoarding tendencies.

for granted almost everywhere; it should be equally apparent that teachers of dull-normal children, too, require special experience to equip them for their work.

Provision must be made for exercising the pupils' special abilities and interests. One device allows a definite period of time each week for "free activity." The facilities of the classroom are then available to pupils with the one injunction that nothing be done which interferes with the activities of other children. They may have paper and crayons or paints for art work; they have access to the books on the reference shelf; they may work on stories or plays that they are writing or reading; etc. At times there is an exhibit of the work done by the pupils. The praise that is given so honestly and freely by the fellow-pupils stimulates both the recipient and the others. Periods of the week may be set aside for discussing books read outside of school, places visited, and activities conducted, and thus again the teacher gives the child the impression that she is interested in his welfare and his activities. The teacher must serve as counsel and as guide in these extracurricular activities and suggest books and names of organizations where further aid is obtainable. The school dullard has traits that are commendable and interests that are stimulating. Just as the child is frequently unaware of the out-of-school life of the teacher, so is the teacher often ignorant of the real personalities of her pupils. Greater familiarity should make for increased understanding and sympathy.

Problems for Study and Discussion

1. What should the high-school art teacher do when one of his enthusiastic students speaks of going abroad to study art after his graduation from high school? The boy draws well, but is not considered to be among the best artists in the school. The family is moderately well-to-do and is ready to make the financial sacrifice necessary to enable the youth to go abroad.

2. Andrew's parents, both of whom are college graduates, postponed marriage and parenthood until they felt they could offer their child every possible social and educational advantage. Andrew was a

healthy, cheerful, handsome infant. Though he was late in learning to walk and to talk, his parents thought Andrew clever and made ambitious plans for him. In his early childhood, Andrew was so good-looking and sociable that his parents didn't see that he was duller than his playmates. They attributed his slow development to the fact that they had been babying him quite a bit. Even when he was five years old, they did not permit him to feed himself or to dress unaided.

At five, he was sent to a kindergarten. Andrew didn't like the class at all. He hit youngsters who laughed at his indistinct speech. Often he tore up his own work in a rage when he had difficulty in keeping up with the others in the group.

The principal had the boy tested by a psychologist, who reported Andrew's intelligence quotient to be 78.

Let us assume that you are the principal. What can you say to the parents that will be definite enough to help them plan the boy's future more intelligently than they have been doing, and yet not be so severe a blow as to endanger the parents' emotional adjustments?

3. "On the average, the children of exceptionally intelligent parents are less intelligent than their parents, even though these children still are above the average for the community as a whole." What problem does this fact present to mental hygiene?

4. Why is there more maladjustment among children who are slightly or moderately inferior mentally than there is among children who are slightly or moderately superior mentally? (See Table I.)

5. Why is it significant to view *inferior* mentality as a relative and not an absolute condition?

6. When retardation is accepted as part of the school's administrative procedures, what criteria should be used in order to determine when a pupil is to be retarded? What special provisions should be made for retarded pupils?

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VII

PHYSICAL FACTORS AFFECTING ADJUSTMENT

THE relationship between bodily weakness and personality disorders is indicated by such studies as that of Burt, who found that "defective physical conditions are, roughly speaking, one and a quarter times as frequent among delinquent children as they are among non-delinquent children from the same schools and streets," [1] and that of Madden [2] who reported that children hard of hearing were never rated as leaders and were often rated as shy and solitary. No physical abnormality is typical of all problem children, and no condition is found only among the problem children. That the youngster does not become a problem child merely because he is crippled is proved by the great number of lame children who fit in beautifully with their environment. Nevertheless, the physical defect introduces complications that, added to the other factors in the case, produce undesirable emotional states.

HOW PHYSICAL FACTORS CONTRIBUTE TO EMOTIONAL DISORDERS

"A healthy baby is a happy baby," say the pediatricians. All who have been ill know how trying it is to retain good humor when the body is not functioning normally. When one feels below par, he tends to go off alone and to avoid unnecessary

[1] C. Burt, *The Young Delinquent* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1925), p. 239.

[2] R. Madden, *The School Status of the Hard of Hearing Child,* Contributions to Education, No. 499 (New York, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1931).

social contacts. Similarly, the child whose energy is being sapped by an undisclosed organic disorder participates in individual rather than in group play activities. Some pediatricians have eliminated cases of irritability by correcting a calcium deficiency,[3] and psychiatrists have reduced the severity of some childhood nervous traits by administering glucose.[4]

Laird, Levitan, and Wilson [5] conducted a controlled experiment with fifty-three children in grades one, three, and five of three elementary schools. These youngsters were selected by their teachers as being the most nervous in their classes; the subjects were free from malnutrition or any other serious defect. One group was kept as a control group; a second received a half pint of milk at 9:30 A. M. daily; and the third group was given a special feeding at 9:30 A. M. daily consisting of a calcium metabolism concentrate (containing calcium, phosphorus, maltose, lactose, Vitamin D, and some cocoa) added to the half pint of milk. Nervousness was measured by Olson's "Behavior Check List." At the end of two weeks, the control group showed 2.3 per-cent improvement; the group that received milk feedings improved 8.2 per cent; and the group that was fed the milk plus the concentrate improved 15.6 per cent. Marked improvement was shown by 85 per cent of the children in the third group; in fifteen traits [6] the improvement was 25 per cent or more. The experimenters concluded that

[3] F. Mateer: "Calcium Deficiency as a Factor in Mental Instability," abstracted in *Psychological Bulletin*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (February, 1926), pp. 157–159.

[4] D. K. Henderson and R. D. Gillespie, *A Textbook of Psychiatry* (London, Oxford University Press, 1932), pp. 524–526.

[5] D. A. Laird, M. Levitan, and V. A. Wilson, "Nervousness in School Children as Related to Hunger and Diet," *Medical Journal and Record*, Vol. 134, 1931, pp. 494–499.

[6] This improvement of 25 per cent or more was shown in the following respects: less easily fatigued, more even-tempered, less uncommunicative, reduced tendency to jump from one task to another, less sluggish in thinking, greater masculinity (in boys), more sociable, less likely to criticize others, less easily discouraged, more self-control in unpleasant situations, less worry, greater readiness to discuss himself and his problems, less excitable, less impulsive, and greater tendency to act with care

many of the behavior symptoms manifested by pupils in the first five years of the elementary school can be corrected merely by offsetting hunger pangs with a special feeding at school.

The retiring pupil and the disorderly one may be more upset physically than emotionally, in need of medical attention and not of reëducation or psychiatric care. The physical examination is therefore a first step in diagnosing and treating the behavior-problem child.

Poor health is an immediate situation to which the child must make some adjustment. The danger to his ultimate personality development arises from the possibility that these temporary expedients will be retained as habits after their justification has passed. The youngster who has been told not to exhaust himself finds it convenient to become tired as soon as the task loses its novelty. Habits of shyness persist after energy has been restored to normalcy. The child may learn to excuse himself from making necessary changes by pleading poor health; in fact, many neurotic traits represent such continuance of reactions that once were necessary. Though children's health must not be endangered by excessive demands, both the parent and the teacher must see that the youngster is not allowed to develop personality traits that make later adjustments more difficult.

Bodily disorders are often less injurious physically than they are emotionally and socially. Though the child's body adjusts itself to such defects as strabismus or lameness, these conditions can be sufficient to keep the child from developing an attractive personality. For one thing, parents and other adults are prone to treat the weak or deformed youngster with more sentiment than intelligence. The mother is eager to win his battles for him, and the teacher is ready to permit him indulgences denied to others. Such a child deserves and needs sympathy in his attempts to overcome his handicaps, but he is entitled to far-sighted guidance that aids him to attain self-reliance and self-confidence. He must not be permitted

to center his efforts at adjustment about his ability to arouse sympathy.

Any obvious physical abnormality may complicate the child's emotional adjustment by making him self-conscious and by reducing the opportunities for normal social activities. The deformed child who thinks people see only his defect soon loses the abandon or naïveté that is one of childhood's charms. He therefore withdraws voluntarily from socializing activities rather than risk being shunned by his would-be playmates. The defect itself may be so unattractive that his companions do reject him. One boy had such unsightly warts on his hands that his classmates avoided touching him. When ring games were played by the class, it was difficult for the teacher to find two pupils who were willing to hold hands with him. Few children can stand such ostracism for any length of time without developing undesirable compensatory reactions.

The student who rises when he is called on, stands with open mouth, and answers the teacher's question by "What did you say?" easily earns an undeserved reputation for stupidity. It may be an adenoidal condition and not inattention or lack of intelligence that is responsible for his facial expression and for his failure to hear the question. Similarly, the youngster who seems indifferent or lazy and the pupil who is restless and fidgety may be suffering from glandular disturbances. The teacher need not attempt the diagnosis of physical conditions—some indifferent pupils are indifferent only in the classroom—but she should see the value of securing expert medical advice before she rules out physical deficiencies as the basic cause of the child's problem.

Sensory defects directly affect the child's ability to learn by reducing the number and the accuracy of the impressions that reach the brain. That eye defects interfere with the child's learning to read and that auditory defects give him only a confused interpretation of the teacher's explanation are obvious. One is tempted to minimize the importance of such de-

fects by assuming that the child will ask for, and the teacher will make, the necessary allowance; but most children do not know when their sense organs are defective. Misunderstanding the question may be interpreted by the pupil, too, as resulting from his own stupidity or inattention. Cornell [7] finds that the school grades of children with physical defects are significantly below those of normal children. Other studies indicate that the rate of unsatisfactory work is greater among children with defective vision than among those with good vision and that children with defective hearing are more often found among those who are retarded at school than among those whose progress is better than normal.

TYPICAL PROBLEMS OF ADJUSTMENT COMPLICATED BY PHYSICAL FACTORS

The Physically Handicapped Child. The term *physically handicapped child* is used in the present instance to refer to children who are afflicted with a physical ailment that is obvious even to the casual observer. Illustrative of this group are children who are strabismic, lame, or hard of hearing. We may include in this group the child who has a serious organic deficiency, such as a weak heart.

As a result of his limitations, the physically defective child is unable to share in the play activities of his classmates. Deprived of the "give and take" that is so salutary an influence in children's social development, he tends to become confirmed in his habits of timidity and to develop attitudes of self-pity. Proper medical advice may recommend types of group play that will not exert the child too much and may aid him in overcoming part of the physical deficiency. When such activities are suggested by the physician, they should be included in the class recreation program.

Many of the teacher's attempts to improve the youngster's

[7] W. S. Cornell, "The Relation of Physical to Mental Defect in School Children," *Psychological Clinic*, Vol. 1, No. 8 (January, 1908), pp. 231–234.

social adjustment will be made outside the playground. The child should be given special responsibilities in class. He can be helped to achieve group recognition through his ability in other aspects of school work. He should be encouraged to run for class offices. It is generally desirable that he be given an opportunity to help others so that he may not grow up with the notion that there is no one more helpless than he; for example, he may be given the responsibility of coaching one of the slower pupils, or he can be asked to supervise the playground activities of younger children by serving as umpire or keeping the score.

The teacher's friendship offers a helpful means of leading the child to see himself in a new light. An informal chat with the youngster who is over-sensitive about his appearance—for example, the strabismic child—may help the child to see that he is overemphasizing the seriousness of his defect and that others are not as critical of him as he is of himself.

Little public mention should be made of the child's difficulties. The teacher may tell the lame child privately what special provisions are being made for him during fire drills. Similarly, public comments are unnecessary when seating arrangements are made for pupils with defective hearing or vision. At no time should the teacher refer to the defect as excusing a piece of work or an act that would not be tolerated on the part of another child.

Children are often thoughtlessly harsh in their treatment of the physically handicapped pupil. For their sake and for the child's, the teacher must take steps to modify their attitude. Where possible, this should be done without directing any special attention to the crippled youngster. By the stories that are read or told in class, the school can stress the desirability of helping those who are less fortunate. The story may come closer to the class situation by having the teacher relate how pupils of another school treated a child who had a physical defect, being careful not to refer to the one from which her

pupil is suffering. Engaging the entire class in some group enterprise for the benefit of the children of a local hospital or institution, such as collecting magazines for them to read, may aid the students to translate from thought to action what they have been hearing about helping the unfortunate. It is sometimes feasible to have a few of the class leaders discuss the practical situation with the teacher and then let them think of ways whereby they can facilitate the child's social adjustment and his inclusion in group play. The suggestions that come from these children are more likely to be executed than are the same proposals when made by the teacher.

Despite the attempts made to improve the handicapped child's social adjustment, he will still spend more time alone than most youngsters do. His solitary leisure activities should be guided lest he spend his time in brooding. The school can aid the youngster to develop a hobby and should even permit him to use school supplies at home when the family is too poor to purchase the needed materials. Interesting assignments for individual study and special report benefit him in several ways: they occupy his time; they make his school work more interesting and suggest further lines of inquiry he can pursue; they develop his poise before a group; and they direct class attention to his abilities. Similar advantages can be obtained by encouraging such creative activities as writing or drawing. Many of his activities should be directed toward making things for others in order to minimize the preoccupation with self so frequently found among handicapped children and adults.

A perplexing situation is presented by the child who is suffering from a defect that may be improved by medical or surgical treatment. Should the teacher urge such treatment? All things considered, it is undoubtedly wiser to leave such recommendations to the medical profession. There is always the danger that the treatment may not be effective, and then the teacher has one more problem to face. The teacher should

never discuss the possibility or the desirability of such treatment with the child. In the course of a conversation with the parent, the teacher may suggest that the parent take the youngster to a physician in order to see whether he can now recommend any remedial treatment, being careful not to recommend any particular physician. If the parent is criminally negligent, not merely ignorant or preoccupied, the community has ways of compelling him to give the child the needed treatment, but the teacher should not meddle in what is at best a difficult situation. When the home is indifferent or hostile, the school should report the case to the proper authorities and then leave it in their hands.

The Child Who Is Sensitive about Unusual Physical Appearance. Unusual physical appearance often has the same emotional effects as a definite physical handicap. Where other factors are favorable, few youngsters are oversensitive about their height or weight; but when there are such complications as inferior mentality or antagonistic parents, the child uses even a slight physical peculiarity to explain his problems of adjustment. This attitude retards socialization by confirming his retiring habits and by blinding him to the other causes of his difficulties.

The way in which this factor is interrelated with others is illustrated by Marie H. Coming from a family of tall people, Marie was at twelve years much taller than most girls of her age. Her intelligence quotient of 88 was partly responsible for a poor school record. Although she had been retarded twice and was competing with pupils averaging a year younger, her class work was still poor, especially in arithmetic. Her eyesight was bad; since her unusual height made it impossible for her to be seated at the front of the room, she did her written work at the teacher's desk. Her parents' poverty and her own attitudes combined to keep her poorly and untidily dressed. The girl was referred to the child-guidance clinic when she refused to stand in line with the others or to come to the front of the room to recite. The teacher reported Marie's conduct to be otherwise satisfactory but noted that the girl rarely volunteered in class or played with others. A medical examination showed the girl to be in good health, except

for an overactive pituitary gland and markedly reduced vision in one eye.

It is obvious in Marie's case that the teacher has to cope with more than the girl's self-consciousness. Would the girl have been sensitive about her height if she had been better dressed? Would she have been hesitant to recite from the front of the room if she had been more successful in school? Would she be reluctant to use the teacher's desk if she knew that the other pupils envied her intellectual and physical superiority? Could a more intelligent home have sensed and corrected her maladjustment? It is unnecessary for the teacher to search for the *one* cause of the child's sensitivity; she must discover as many of the contributing factors as possible; and she can formulate no remedial program until she knows why the youngster behaves so.

A friendly conversation during which the teacher attempts to modify the pupil's estimate of his appearance is desirable,[8] but it has no permanent effect unless the teacher is correcting the more fundamental conditions. Several visits to the home convinced Marie's teacher that she could expect little intelligent coöperation from the family. The school relief fund supplied clothing and sent the girl to an oculist. Marie responded to special instruction in arithmetic by improvement that encouraged both the girl and her teacher. The girl was persuaded to join the class basket-ball team where her height was a definite asset. At the end of the term, her socialization was not yet perfect, but her bearing and her attitude were noticeably better.

The Frail Youngster. The youngster who is frequently ill or who has suffered from several serious childhood diseases easily becomes a behavior problem even after he regains normal health. The frail child may get more attention than is good for him, and he is tempted to cherish his minor ailments. In their solicitude for his health, parents limit his play activities and deprive him of the normal number of bumps and falls.

Once the school physician declares the youngster to be in good health, the teacher must secure parental coöperation in reëducating their child. Former illnesses should not be referred to unnecessarily. The repetition of "How are you feeling today?" helps the child to become the neurotic adult who has a long and detailed answer to the question. The teacher must

[8] The procedures suggested above for modifying the class attitude toward the physically handicapped child can be adapted for use with the sensitive youngster.

be sympathetic, but only in the same way that she sympathizes with all her other pupils.

The school standing of the child who has been away for a long time is a source of worry. When he returns, he may feel that he has already missed so much work that he cannot possibly make it up. Though it does impress the rest of the class to speak of all the work that was done in the preceding two weeks, the teacher should forgo this announcement. The process of helping the child to regain what was lost must be a coöperative affair, and the youngster should feel that the teacher is actually concerned with his welfare. In the secondary schools, the grade adviser or the dean should supervise the student's make-up work. It is an unpleasant commentary on the arbitrariness of a curriculum-centered school that sometimes a pupil who has been away for a month is further demoralized by being retarded at the end of the term.

The child who is ill with a protracted rather than an acute illness should be helped to keep in touch with the progress that is made by his class. The teacher thus reduces the pupil's worry and gives him a profitable way of spending the time that he now has available. Having the class draft a common letter to the sick pupil makes an interesting composition; writing the reply will keep the convalescent occupied. It is a sensible precaution not to ask other children to act as emissaries from the school to the patient unless the teacher is certain that the child's illness is not infectious.

PHYSICAL DEFECTS AMONG CHILDREN

How widespread physical deficiencies are among children is apparent from the following summary which was presented to the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection:[9]

[9] White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, 1930 (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1931), pp. 233–234.

50,000	partially-seeing children who should be in sight-saving classes (Less than 5,000 of these are enrolled in sight-saving classes.)
3,000,000	with hearing impaired in various degrees
1,000,000	school children between the ages of five and eighteen who are so defective in speech that they require remedial treatment and training (60,000 of these at the present time are receiving the necessary corrective work and training.)
300,000	crippled children (100,000 of these need special education; 10,110 of these are enrolled in public schools, and 1,480 in state hospitals and schools, and in private schools.)
6,000,000	children (approximately) of school age who are malnourished (Less than 40,000 of these are enrolled in open window and open-air schools and classes.)

The Teacher's Rôle in Correcting Children's Physical Defects. The teacher's routine daily hygiene inspection of the class is inadequate for detecting any but the obvious defects. Her responsibility for the correction of physical defects is discharged when she adapts the work to the child's deficiencies and when she follows up the suggestions made by the school physician. Children with such serious conditions as chorea or epilepsy should not be admitted to the usual classroom unless they have the sanction and the supervision of the school physician.

Even a good health examination is useless unless it is properly followed up. Teachers are beset by so many problems and parents have so many other worries that the results of the health examination are often ignored after the first routine letter has been sent. The child, who is the one most directly concerned, is usually quite willing to let it slide until it has been forgotten. Some parents are ready to dismiss the notice sent by the school as merely another instance of the arbitrary demands of an exacting institution, and comfort themselves by recalling other instances where the family physician overruled the recommendation of the school physician. By enlisting the coöperation of the local medical society and the parent-

teacher association, the school can increase the effectiveness of the health examination.

ATHLETICS AND PROBLEM BEHAVIOR

How Athletics May Facilitate Adjustment. Athletics can be used as an incentive for children who have slight interest in the more academic aspects of the school work. The behavior problem is often the child who has been retarded and who is therefore older and bigger than the average child in his class. This very fact may be responsible for his delinquencies in the classroom and for his superiority on the athletic field. Every teacher knows children whose behavior difficulties were improved after the pupil gained recognition in athletics.

Athletics helps correct some undesirable traits found among behavior-problem children. The pupil who does not coöperate with other children in the classroom can be taught to do so rather easily on the playground. The timid youngster who shrinks from encounters with others may learn to enjoy the company of other children as a result of the games he plays. The braggart who feels that the universe revolves about him is frequently taken down a peg when his love of individual display costs his team a point.

The prestige of the coach makes his power for suggestion important. In the words of the boys themselves, "He talks a language we can understand," and he frequently has the reputation of being a "regular fellow" because his accomplishments are on the level that the child appreciates. His influence must be used wisely if it is to continue to exert force. Teachers who make threats regarding a boy's place on the team often embarrass the coach. Similarly, the teacher who regards the coach as a disciplinary officer for the school and sends him daily notices of the misdeeds of the squad members compels him to administer reprimands that soon lose their force because of their frequency. Both coach and teacher ought to be in close touch with each other whenever problem children are mem-

bers of the team. No formal notice need be sent, nor should the child realize that coach and teacher are discussing his case unless some serious offense has been committed.

On the other hand, the coach must realize that this work is but one aspect of the complicated task of educating the whole child for complete living. In his informal contacts with the pupil, he hears only one side of the dispute between teacher and pupil and is often inclined to believe that the teacher's demands are petty, especially if acceding to them threatens the team's success in an important encounter. Moreover, there are coaches who speak to the pupils as though the teacher were a common menace and nuisance whose unreasonable demands must be outwitted rather than satisfied.

Limitations of Athletics. Many behavior-problem children are mediocre in their athletic achievements and are accepted by the coaches only after much persuasion. In the stress of competition, these youngsters are soon eliminated. So long as school athletics is dominated by the desire to win in interscholastic competition, athletics remains closed to most problem children. The use of class teams provides for some of these youngsters, but here, too, the rest of the team soon objects if the teacher insists upon making a reform school of the team. Some of the values of the athletic appeal can be obtained by mass athletics where every child participates in some form of physical activity. Though this scheme does not give each pupil a chance to excel, it suggests interesting ways of spending his leisure time and offers approved ways of giving vent to his spirits and his energy.

There is much reasoning by analogy and metaphor in connection with the character training to be encountered on the athletic field. The child may learn the values of team coöperation for the winning of the common goal; he may appreciate the characteristics of a good loser and of a modest winner; he may learn that only by strenuous effort can he win the game; yet he may not realize that these values apply outside the play-

ground as well as on it. These attitudes are worth cultivating even if used only on the playground; they are still more desirable if they are applied outside the field of athletics. To achieve this transfer of training requires the coöperation of coach and teacher.

The tradition of "good losers" has been carefully developed by school athletics. It has a definite formula that the loser must follow if he is not to lose caste: Never complain about defeat; praise the sportsmanship of the other fellow; say that you did your best; and keep smiling. The ability to win gracefully has received no such recognition; the consistent winner may be as much of a problem as the child with the consciousness of failure. Success on the athletic field must not be permitted to excuse insolence in class. The student who bullies youngsters because he is the school hero should be brought to his senses.

The pupil who does poorly in his academic work and succeeds in his athletic efforts may develop a distorted sense of values. Children who are mediocre or inferior in their school work are sometimes excused from class in order to devote more time to sports. There may be too much of a good thing, even of athletics. If it is so simple to excuse the student from the academic work, must the teacher not ask herself whether more meaningful activities should not have been given in the first place? Where to draw the line defining the amount of athletics that is of optimum value for the child cannot be determined in advance but should be decided in terms of the needs of the behavior-problem youngsters.

THE "HEALTH-CONSCIENCE"

Although it would seem that any one whose body is free from organic defects can gain good health by conscious effort, overemphasis on health may keep him from reaching the desired stage, or from enjoying it once he is there. No one is more concerned with his good health than the neurotic who

pitifully goes from physician to physician and conscientiously follows the advice given in advertisements. Though he may be well, he doesn't have the exuberance of spirit and keenness of mind that should accompany true health.

The necessity of washing hands before eating is emphasized by teachers who explain that the germs of twenty-eight diseases are conveyed by shaking hands. The effects of such instruction are illustrated by Dr. Thom's case of the six-year-old who suddenly developed an inability to take food or to swallow. It later transpired that her mother, in order to keep the girl from being kissed by strangers, had told her that kissing causes infection by germs and that when germs are swallowed little girls die. The immediate cause of the child's unusual behavior was her being kissed at her dancing class by some man.[10]

It is questionable whether the school should develop the child's "health-conscience." Some value may follow, but the danger is ever present that the teacher will be encouraging the growth of more phobias to limit the child's life. Certainly the teacher should avoid enumerating the symptoms of various diseases. All the child need be told is that if he has anything seriously wrong with him, he should visit a physician instead of trying home remedies or proprietary medicines. There are few people who cannot imagine having the ailment described by a friend who has just had an operation and who is still thrilled by his recitation of the way he "first felt it coming on." The child should not be encouraged to devote his time and energy to the melancholy effort to avoid illness.

The teacher of health education should stress the inculcation of good health habits. The difficulty of doing this is increased by the circumstance that many of these habits are practised at home and in other places where the school must rely on its influence rather than on its presence. The teacher must therefore take advantage of every opportunity available for

[10] D. A. Thom, *Everyday Problems of the Everyday Child* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1927), pp. 39–40.

the children's application of these habits in school situations. The schools themselves must offer the facilities for following the rules of hygiene. Unfortunately, schools violate many of the rules they stress in the hygiene period. Children are regularly told that they must chew their food carefully and should rest before resuming active work. How many schools have a lunch period long enough to permit thorough chewing of the food? In some metropolitan secondary schools, the students have thirty minutes in which to go to the lunch room, buy the lunch, eat it and return to class. As a general custom, elementary-school children are allowed less than an hour to go home, eat their lunch, and return. Teachers speak of the importance of diet and then permit children to go to peddlers in the neighborhood who furnish a lunch consisting of a boiled frankfurter in roll, lemonade, and candy. Children are asked to form the habit of washing their hands with soap and hot water before eating, and yet it is still the unusual school that offers the necessary facilities for the children.

Health education must be especially careful of the methods of teaching used, for unwise procedure may be accompanied by morbid self-interest. The keynote of all instruction must be the desirability of good health rather than the dangers of ill health. Undoubtedly, the horrors of disease make for more vivid lessons than are suggested by the prosaic details of the procedures for maintaining good health. However, vividness is not the chief criterion for evaluating a lesson in health education.

Problems for Study and Discussion

1. In a junior high school in a slum neighborhood, there is one pupil who is easily distinguished from his classmates because of his superior mentality, high marks, slight physique, and listless facial expression. He is ridiculed by his classmates because he is easily beaten in physical encounters. When his books or pencils are stolen, he dares not say anything to the teacher even when he knows who took them. He has even stopped volunteering in class because the others ridicule his answers and mimic his manner of speech.

What can the teacher do with the boy and for him?

2. What can the teacher do with the ten-year-old boy who has learned to use his "weak heart" as an excuse for not studying in preparation for his classroom tests? The boy does have a cardiac condition.

3. Because they fear an accident, the parents of a normally healthy boy of twelve refuse to permit him to engage in any of the active group games ordinarily played by boys of his age. At fourteen, the mother's brother was killed by a truck while the boy was playing baseball on a city street. The father limps as an after-effect of a hip injury he sustained when he fell while playing basket-ball in his high-school gymnasium. These two incidents lead the parents to fear an accident to their son.

How can the teacher modify the parents' attitude?

4. A high-school freshman who thinks eye-glasses spoil her appearance and who dislikes being teased by her classmates, finds many excuses for not wearing her glasses in school.

What can the teacher do?

5. After a series of lessons on food inspection, a high-school civics teacher learns that several of her pupils have stopped eating fresh fruits because they are afraid of being poisoned by the various arsenic sprays used by orchardists.

What should the teacher do?

6. In a high-school biology class, the teacher spent some time discussing the diagnosis of common ailments and suggesting first-aid procedures to be followed until a physician arrived. She then asked those who had been ill recently to tell the class what they did between the time when they first fell ill and the time the doctor arrived. One student gave a vivid description of the early stages of an appendicitis attack and of the steps leading up to his hospitalization.

That evening, S. E., one of the other students, complained of pains in his right side. After having been kept awake all night by the pain, he was examined by a competent physician who diagnosed the case as a minor digestive disorder and ruled out the possibility of appendicitis The boy was sleepless the second night and continued to complain of pain in the right side. He told his father that all of the symptoms resembled those of the classmate who had been operated on.

S. E. is ordinarily a robust individual, successful at school, popular with his friends, and enthusiastic about his many hobbies. There is no previous history of emotional maladjustment or of any neurotic symptoms.

What advice can you give to the parents?

7. The mother of one of your pupils tells you that she took her youngster to a physician who prescribed an anterior-pituitary extract in order to correct the child's hyper-sensitivity and restlessness. She

now asks you for your opinion of the advisability of the treatment. What should you say?

8. What application should the teacher make of the results of the experiment conducted by Laird, Levitan, and Wilson?

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VIII

FOSTERING WHOLESOME SEX ADJUSTMENTS

DIFFICULTIES CONFRONTING THE SCHOOL'S ATTEMPTS AT FOSTERING WHOLESOME SEX ADJUSTMENTS

DESPITE all that has been said and written, it is by no means indisputable that the school should be the major agency for fostering the wholesome sex adjustment of its students. This statement does not minimize the need for sex education, nor is it intended to belittle the significance for mental hygiene of proper sex adjustment. It is the inevitable result of a realistic evaluation of the school's position in contemporary American life.

The American school is not autonomous. It is rather the agency whereby the community perpetuates its ideals. Though this relationship influences all of the school's activities, it is particularly confining in the field of human relationships where values are determined emotionally more than rationally.

The publicly supported school ordinarily evades the issue by defining sex education as those "activities which aid the child to attain a healthy sex adjustment." Does "adjustment" mean fitting in meekly with the present social scheme? Should the school prepare children for living a healthy sex life even though it may involve violating contemporary mores? What is the school to do when each of several groups in the community has its own interpretation of what constitutes the best possible adjustment? What course should the school pursue in a commu-

nity that insists upon ignoring sex and treating any open reference to sex as indecent? As society's agent, the school often feels that it must subordinate its ideals to the more practical problem of developing in pupils the attitudes respected by the community, or by the most vocal group in the community.

Before the school can guide adequately the sex adjustments of its pupils, it must coöperate with the agencies that are attempting to modify the community's attitudes toward sex. Much of the sex maladjustment found among mental patients results from unwholesome community attitudes and practices as much as it does from poor personal habits. The integration of children's personalities is not facilitated when the school sets up a standard that is frowned upon by the home and the community; such conflicting standards even increase the problems confronting the child. Of what value is it to tell the adolescent youth that masturbation does not lead to feeblemindedness or insanity, when the parent regards the practice as the first indication of innate depravity? Does the school convince children that family life can be inspiring, when the comic strips, the motion pictures, radio skits and their own home life stress the petty bickerings between husband and wife? By the time the youngster is admitted to the elementary school many of his basic sex attitudes and character traits have already been shaped by the family, and the school discovers that it is easier to impart information than to modify personality traits. The school, unaided, cannot solve its students' sex problems.

As a result of these limitations, sex education ordinarily comprises generalities that do not touch at all the problems the individual student must solve. How few are the high-school students who have ever had frank advice concerning their personal problems? [1] What does the school do for the retiring adolescent girl who would like to go to dances the way other

[1] See M. J. Exner, *Principles and Problems of Sex Education—A Study of 948 College Men* (New York, Association Press, 1915).

girls do but who shrinks from facing the tilted eyebrows of her family? How does the school aid the youth whose growing sense of independence revolts against the restrictions imposed by parental discipline? The school succeeds in its attempts to offend no one, usually by confining sex education to meaningless abstractions.

One of the most difficult problems of sex education is the discovery of a procedure that divests normal sex practices of their mystery and their sinfulness and yet does not allow youngsters to create more problems for themselves by interpreting the school's attitude as encouraging practices of which the home and the community disapprove. May not the school lead the child to attach too much significance to sex problems? For the most vital aspects of sex education, we need a relationship more intimate and understanding than that found in a large class.

The ideal teacher of sex education is an intelligent, cultured parent whose children are just a little older than the pupils in her class. Such a teacher is likely to be herself a well-adjusted person whose personality invites confidence, who can discuss sex without overemphasis, who knows the problems of her pupils and isn't shocked by what she discovers, who frees sex from its shame and its sin and yet doesn't encourage premature exploration. Those teachers who do not meet these specifications must either have additional out-of-school contacts with children or should leave sex education to others. When the teacher is herself inadequately or improperly adjusted and brings to class her own biases and aversions, she rarely succeeds in inculcating a healthful attitude in her pupils. The preponderance of women teachers in the elementary and junior high schools further reduces the possibilities for dealing with the more intimate phases of boys' sex education.

Sex education is impeded by other factors operating within the school situation. Classes are so large and heterogeneous that within one room there are pupils of several stages of men-

tal, physiological, and social development. Group instruction is difficult in a subject where much depends on the child's status; what the teacher is discussing is already known to some of the pupils, while to others it is so far removed that the topics are either silly or revolting. In some instances curiosity is stimulated to find its illicit satisfaction in practices that will still further upset the child's emotional stability.

The school's inadequacy as an instrument for sex education is the more regrettable because of the importance of healthful sex adjustment. What other social agency is as well organized, as well trained, and as well equipped for reaching the vast majority of our population? The school must therefore do as much as it can and then aid the home and the community to do the rest.

THE INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SEX ADJUSTMENTS AND EMOTIONAL STABILITY

The assumption that all emotional disorders result from sex repressions is accepted today by only a few psychiatrists. Most psychiatrists regard sex as only one source of emotional difficulty. That unsolved sex problems add to the person's emotional tension is not to be denied; those who are interested in eliminating or in controlling all sources of maladjustment regard sex education as a useful aid.

Sex maladjustments contribute to the incidence of emotional disorder and frequently are an important factor in its etiology because they increase the tension within the individual. The adolescent who is troubled by his feeling of shame at masturbation and by his fear of impending insanity experiences difficulty in withstanding the nervous shocks he could otherwise ignore. On the other hand, a sudden sex crisis, for example, the adolescent girl accosted by a man, may be the immediate stimulus that leads an already unstable child to a definite nervous breakdown. Thus, sex disturbances may be

either a predisposing factor or an immediate cause of mental illness. That only rarely are they both the predisposing factor and the immediate cause, is attested by most adults who have experienced with little effect the shocks that prove so serious to those so unstable emotionally that they are unable to stand the added or the sudden strain. The child's wholesome sex adjustment helps remove both an important predisposing cause and a significant precipitating cause of mental disease.

However, sex maladjustments are often a symptom rather than a cause of emotional instability. Sex excesses are occasionally the device whereby the maladjusted child attains a false sense of emotional equilibrium. The same personality difficulties lead one girl to dress ostentatiously and a second to expose herself indecently; the shy youth is timid in the classroom and is also reticent in seeking the company of girls. It is to be expected that the emotionally unstable child will experience difficulties in adjusting himself to the inflexible sex standards set by the community. Sex offenses among pupils can be understood only in terms of the whole personality.

SEX DIFFERENCES IN PROBLEM BEHAVIOR

Differences in Frequency. The incidence of problem behavior in schools is greater among boys than it is among girls. There are more boys than girls among the cases referred to child-guidance clinics and in special classes or institutions for the subnormal, the unstable, and the delinquent. Applying an inventory of problem tendencies to unselected groups of pupils, Olson reports: [2]

> Boys consistently secure higher mean ratings in problem tendencies than girls. The difference of 6 6 points for the first grade has a probable error of but .6 of a point. The difference is thus eleven times the probable error of the difference and indicates a practical certainty

[2] W. C. Olson, *Problem Tendencies in Children—A Method for Their Measurement and Description* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1930), p. 17.

that the difference is a significant one and not ascribable to sampling errors. The same fact is confirmed by the separate units of evidence when the data are analyzed by age or grade. The differences found for the elementary school and junior high school are in the same direction and are respectively 7.4 and 7.0 times the probable error of the difference.

Differences of Kind. The difference in the type of problem behavior is significant because it offers a clue to understanding the difference in incidence. Though there is much overlapping, boys tend to commit aggressive acts, while the girls' problems are more often the withdrawing kind. Olson finds that girls manifest more nervous habits [3] and in Wickman's study, oversensitiveness is the only undesirable trait reported significantly more frequently for girls than for boys.[4] Burt's study of the offenses charged against young delinquents presents corroborative evidence. Such offenses as "bodily violence to persons" were more numerous for boys, while attempted or threatened suicide and lying ("persistent and extravagant and excluding the mere concealment of other delinquencies") were more prevalent among girls.[5] The outstanding exception to this trend was the "offense with opposite sex of similar age and willing" where the girls were more frequently delinquent.

Much of the sex difference in behavior patterns must be attributed to environmental influence. Since the school usually views "behavior" as synonymous with "conduct," [6] the disorderly boy is more likely to be referred to the clinic than the retiring girl is. The more basic question of whether boys are more aggressive because of innate tendencies or as a result of environmental influences cannot be answered definitely, although most studies indicate that the innate tendencies are the

[3] W. C. Olson, *The Measurement of Nervous Habits in Normal Children* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1929), pp. 36–38.

[4] E. K. Wickman, *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes* (New York, Division of Publications, The Commonwealth Fund, 1928), p. 45.

[5] C. Burt, *The Young Delinquent* (New York, D. Appleton-Century and Co., 1925), p. 14.

[6] See page 252 ff.

same for both sexes. Pressey, for example, attributes the differences to the influence of social factors: [7]

> Boy and girl babies cry an equal amount, but men cry less than women, and swear far more. The mores allow the girl to cry but not to swear. Presumably, the particular type of reaction is understandable only in terms of a child's total experience from birth.

SEX EDUCATION IN SCHOOL

Sex education cannot be regarded as an independent phase of education; it gains in significance when it is viewed as part of the larger process of character development. Sex education is more than the presentation of biological facts; it aims at developing wholesome attitudes toward one's own body and toward members of the same sex and the opposite sex. It is not merely the discussion of devices for the safe release of certain fundamental desires, but the process of building a personality that will make marriage and parenthood enriching and stimulating experiences. The gap between sex education and character education is narrow, for it is difficult to develop an estimable adult without helping him to effect a wholesome sex adjustment, both as a contributing factor to, and as a consequence of, character formation.

A Positive Program. As in all other aspects of character education, the dominant note of sex education must be positive. Ordinary practice violates this principle and relies upon fear and shame as the incentives for proper sex conduct. The child is told of the danger of ill health or mental disorders, and the youth learns of the menace of social diseases. The school tells the student quite emphatically what he must not do, without aiding him to formulate any positive program of what he is to do. The youth who is making a determined but unsuccessful attempt to overcome his malpractices feels increasingly ashamed and guilty; this sense of guilt is responsible for prob-

[7] S. L. Pressey, *Psychology and the New Education* (New York, Harper and Bros., 1933), p. 173.

lem behavior more often than the sex practice itself is. Fear leads to caution; it rarely develops character.

The school can raise the level of the child's attitude toward sex without introducing unnecessary prudery. By making the presence of the other sex too ordinary to excite comment, coeducation teaches pupils as part of the general process of adjustment to respect the feelings of the other sex. Preparation for adult social life is facilitated by club meetings, parties, and school outings where there is greater freedom than is afforded in class. Those teachers who have taught in both coeducational and non-coeducational schools testify to the more desirable attitudes of adolescents attending coeducational schools.

The school can see that the child's energy and interests are utilized so fully that he has little time or thought for brooding about sex and sex adjustments. Extracurricular activities are useful outlets for sublimating the student's sex interests. As the pupil approaches adolescence, he should have increasing latitude in discipline and in studies; the English teacher, for example, may suggest novels that the younger pupils spurn as silly.

The Phases of Sex Education. The presentation of facts is an essential phase of sex education, but it is not the whole program. Because correcting children's misconceptions is so definite a step and lends itself so easily to teaching procedures, the school tends to slight the more difficult and less dramatic process of building good habits and inculcating sound attitudes.

Sex education doesn't begin and end with telling children where babies come from, or even with the discussion of venereal diseases. Boys and girls should be taught the physiology and the hygiene of their bodies, among other things. Nor should the growth of a factual background be limited to children; many teachers are unaware of some aspects of sex development, particularly of children's problems at various stages. One woman teacher, for example, sent the following

note to her principal: "I have just learned that K. R. [one of her adolescent boy pupils] masturbates. Will you please do something about it."

Information can be presented by the direct method. In a special lesson, or in a series of such lessons, the various sex problems of childhood are discussed, at times by a visiting physician or nurse. Even when this is done more tactfully as part of a hygiene course, it presents the difficulty of focusing attention upon sex as something apart from normal routine and may stimulate curiosity that has no convenient, legitimate, or healthful outlet. In the pupils' conversations that invariably follow these lessons, undesirable practices may be suggested to children who are not already aware of them. Such lessons require a teacher who can be specific without being suggestive, and personal without being offensive.

Printed materials offer a convenient medium. A number of good leaflets and books are available for children of various ages.[8] For many topics they are preferable to the special lesson. They are easier to handle and can be adjusted more readily to individual differences in the physiological levels of the class. Several motion pictures have been prepared for school use, but even when skilfully presented they easily overemphasize the significance of sex adjustments.

A useful procedure, particularly for presenting some of the simpler materials to youngsters, is the keeping of live pets either in the classroom or at home. Not only does this practice make the growth of a fund of knowledge an informal process; it also provides a natural setting for developing attitudes and discussing hygienic habits. Even with older students, the live pet suggests an informal introduction to group discussion of related problems.

Sex education is less objectionable when it is merged with

[8] For up-to-date information concerning available materials communicate with the American Social Hygiene Association, 50 West Fiftieth Street, New York, N. Y.

other subjects than when it is presented as a separate subject or even as a single topic in a subject. Thus, several subjects of the curriculum may each contribute their share without seeming to direct any unnecessary attention to sex as a phenomenon that demands special study. The study in the nature period of reproduction among plants and animals, the discussion of physiology and hygiene in the biology class, the treatment in the civics class of governmental agencies for public health and the protection of women and children, the presentation of personal and human problems as depicted in the books and plays read in the English class, all illustrate how correlation with other subjects can be used to present information related to sex adjustments.

Whether or not the youngster will be maladjusted depends more on his attitudes than on his factual background. Since attitudes are rarely influenced by definite lessons, the indirect approach is preferable for this phase of sex education. Regardless of their special subject, all teachers can, by their own attitudes and by the tenor and the content of class discussions, influence their students' attitude toward basic questions of sex adjustment. The study of budgeting in the arithmetic class can point the moral that family economy is a coöperative affair; the discussion of foreign social customs such as the importance of family life in China and the rise of the tong as an American substitute, may make our own customs more meaningful.

Yet the indirect approach may be too subtle to be effective. It can be repetitious and still leave gaps in the child's background when several teachers see only the same applications. Intelligent coördination by the school administration reduces this limitation by guiding teachers' efforts at building wholesome sex attitudes in the student body.

The most difficult aspect of sex education in the school is the inculcation of desirable habits, since the teacher has little opportunity for observing the student's success in developing

them. Some of the more obvious habits—those referring to speech, manners, and dress—are manifested in school, but habits of personal sex hygiene and of normal adjustments to the opposite sex must be left largely to the individual child and his family. All the school can do is to hope that the information it gives and the attitudes it builds will lead the child to develop healthful habits. The coöperation of an intelligent home is necessary.

The Levels of Sex Education. When adjusting sex education to the child, the teacher is guided chiefly by the youngster's physiological level. Within one class, there will be pupils at different stages of maturity who will consequently require variation in teaching procedures. Though it is possible to distinguish one stage from the next, the teacher and the parent experience difficulty in noting the progress of the child's development. There are no "promotion days" in physical growth, and there is no point at which the child suddenly passes from one step to the next. Purely for convenience the following discussion refers to five stages of development; these steps are not as distinct as typographical limitations indicate. It is usually advisable for the teacher and the parent to anticipate the child's development a little. Personal problems should be discussed before they become acute. Thus many parents discuss the problems of menstruation with the girl just before she reaches adolescence instead of waiting for her first menstrual period. In a similar manner, many of the topics listed below should be taken up with some children before they attain the level indicated in the text.

Assuming that the home has succeeded in caring for the child's early character training, the kindergarten or primary teacher will consolidate the home's achievements and correct inadequacies for individual pupils. To use Charters' expression, the teacher will do the work of the "mopping up battalion." The care of live plants and animals in the classroom and the informal conversation lessons will supply gaps in the

child's background and help build the attitude that questions related to the body and its sex functions are respectable and should be discussed with teachers and parents the way other problems are.

Ordinarily, the next developmental stage, pre-adolescence, finds the boy or girl not concerned much with his relations to the other sex but sufficiently sensitive to social pressures to spend most of the play time with members of the same sex. This is the period where factual material plays a minor part, for the child already knows the nature of sex differences and is too young to need detailed information about sex hygiene. With pre-adolescent pupils, the teacher strives to improve their relations to the family by developing desirable attitudes toward parents and siblings. In preparation for adolescence, the school relaxes its discipline gradually and encourages its pupils to share the responsibility for running the school. In terms of the classroom, order is being supplanted by discipline.

With the coming of adolescence, more attention should be given to the hygiene of the bodily changes that are now becoming apparent. When the adolescent pupil has been retarded in school and has younger children as his classmates, the necessary information can be conveyed by an informal, personal talk or by appropriate leaflets and books. With the approach of adolescence, sex becomes an increasingly popular topic of conversation; it is therefore with the early adolescent that the effort centers to raise the level of his thinking about sex and about members of the opposite sex.

Jung has referred to adolescence as "the battle for deliverance." The school as well as the home must recognize the child's growing sense of maturity and permit him to feel that he is being treated as a young adult instead of as an older child. Adolescence is not merely a transition period; it is a time when the student is both child and adult simultaneously. He sees no inconsistency between discussing such social problems as poverty or crime and then going to the playground for a game of

tag. This duality of personality complicates his school adjustment, for the student who responds to ethical appeals still requires constant supervision. School adjustment and character training of the adolescent therefore demand of the teacher the ability to exercise firm control while giving her students the feeling that they are now responsible for their actions. Thus, the secondary-school teacher prefers to discuss elements of school adjustment with the student and not his parent, but she still insists on regular and punctual attendance.

The adolescent pupil responds to idealistic suggestions even though he may boast of his cynicism. This is the period when the youth plans to study medicine so that he can devote his life to research and not to amassing wealth; the girl is interested in social work and in other fields that relieve misery. By ridiculing these ideas, the teacher can shift the child's thoughts abruptly. Adolescence is then an ideal age at which to develop attitudes toward sex and the family. Lessons in social etiquette, on the appropriate use of cosmetics, on good taste in clothing and speech, are more effective here than at other stages of the child's life.

The development of the adolescent's sex interests is well known, and the school must assist in furnishing satisfactory means of expression. Psychologically, the major difficulty centers about the effort to transfer interests from one's own sex to the other. Though most children achieve this shift easily enough, the timid youngster may be hindered by the family's tendency to ridicule the boy's interest in girls, or the girl's amateurish attempts at coquetry. Social affairs supervised by the school, with a negligible subscription fee or none at all, are helpful. Dancing instruction is both popular and wholesome, especially for the retiring student. Extracurricular activities offer additional means for expressing and for sublimating sex interests.

The sex problems of late adolescence resemble those of maturity save that economic and social considerations ordinarily

make marriage an impossibility at this age. Students are ready to study the sociology of the modern family with its problems of family life and child care and are easily interested in social legislation for the protection of women and children. The questions of venereal diseases and the quacks who thrive on them can now be presented, not as avenging forces that compel good conduct or as omnipresent evils that endanger the health of the innocent as well as the guilty, but as social problems requiring intelligence and self-control. For the late adolescent, the school continues its efforts at directing sex impulses by offering opportunities for the normal mingling of the sexes at various functions that are a little more formal, but not more costly, than those conducted for younger students. The school must be alert to maintain the popular appeal of these affairs, lest they become so impressive and expensive as to exclude the students who need their socializing influence.

SEX EDUCATION AND THE HOME

Why Sex Education Cannot Be Left Entirely to the Home. Without the coöperation of the home, most of the school's efforts at sex education are ineffective. So important is the family's influence on the child's adjustment that the suggestion has been made to leave sex education entirely to parental control. At the present time, this proposal is an inadequate solution for the following reasons: First, the school has many opportunities and specialized procedures for presenting accurate information and for developing healthful attitudes and habits. Second, parents frequently fail to appreciate their child's sex maturity. Moreover, prudish parents ignore sex education and mistake the child's silence for lack of interest. Finally, the ignorant or the stupid parent may offer no worth-while guidance to the child. The family's attitudes may be so objectionable as to be undeserving of imitation. At the very least, the school can show the child that there are other, and worthier, levels of adjustment.

How the School Can Improve Sex Education at Home. If the parents' adjustments are significant influences on the child's character, then sex education in the schools benefits generations yet unborn. By regarding its students as future heads of families, the school aids them to make parenthood an educative experience. Improving the adjustments of the students and giving them a background in child training should raise the future efficiency of the home as a molder of character.

The school's influence is not limited to future parents; there is much it can do for the families of its present students. Parents' associations are eager for any guidance the school can offer. Their meetings can be used for showing sex-education exhibits such as those the American Social Hygiene Association [9] has prepared, for distributing reading lists for parents and children, and for providing ready access to books and pamphlets on sex education.

Discussions of problems presented by the parents' efforts at sex education need not be confined to generalities. Their problems are a useful point of contact for parental education. Many of the principles and practices used by the school are easily modified for home use. Because many of the parents' problems seem to the teacher to be too obvious for treatment, the following list is offered as suggestive of topics that have been used successfully with groups of parents:

1. "Sex education begins at home, whether we intend it shall or not; and . . . children's concepts of sex are established far more by what parents *are* than by anything they *say*.[10]
2. Divorcing sex and body from shame
3. The dangers of ridiculing childish interest in the other sex
4. Building wholesome attitudes toward sex
5. The value of pets for character building

[9] The American Social Hygiene Association, 50 West Fiftieth Street, New York, N. Y.

[10] M. W. Dennett, *The Sex Education of Children* (New York, The Vanguard Press, 1931), p. 112.

6. Dealing with sex misconduct among children; for example, exhibitionism
7. When to talk to children about sex
8. How to direct sex education at home
9. Adolescence a gradual process

SEX MISCONDUCT IN SCHOOL

The overt manifestations of children's sex interests range in seriousness from such minor affairs as "having a crush" on the teacher or an older student through to the graver problems presented by exhibitionism, homosexuality, and misconduct with a member of the opposite sex. In a large school, the types of offenses detected parallel those to be found in the general population. Many of the more serious types of misconduct occur in waves, so that the school will suddenly experience a minor epidemic of obscene pictures in class or of exhibitionism in the lavatory. External influences are occasionally responsible—the opening of a new store specializing in salacious literature will be reflected in the school—and imitation and suggestion will account for other temporary increases in the incidence of sex offenses.

The treatment as distinguished from the punishment of sex misconduct in school is always difficult. Ordinarily, the student who is bold enough to commit a grave sex offense in school has been treated for so many other instances of maladjustment that the school has practically exhausted its resources so far as he is concerned. Sex desires can be so strong as to nullify the usual attempts at sublimation. Discovering the basic sources of the child's behavior is difficult, and redirecting his attitudes and his habits is usually impossible unless the school sees the youngster as an individual and not as a student, and is willing to go far from the school to discover the causes of his actions and appropriate remedies. Because of children's suggestibility and the danger of widespread imitation of undesirable conduct, the school must enforce a standard that is more conservative even than the community's; for example,

the school does not permit adolescents to hold hands in the auditorium, and it regards the possession of obscene pictures as an offense.

Though the teacher is willing and even eager to have the more serious instances of sex misconduct treated by some one better qualified, occasions arise where circumstances compel the teacher to deal with the child herself. The teacher's treatment divides itself into two phases: first, an immediate, temporary remedy; second, a more thorough and permanent solution.

When a serious sex breach occurs the teacher's first duty is to stop it immediately, even if only temporarily. Thus, youngsters who are discovered misbehaving in the pupils' lavatory should be removed immediately to separate offices, and obscenities written on the school walls are to be washed off quickly.

The teacher's first action must be quick and quiet so that the offense will not receive any more mention among the pupils than can possibly be avoided; it is the teacher's responsibility to see that nothing she does helps advertise sex possibilities that the children would not otherwise have thought of. At no time should there be any public exposure of the culprits. This injunction is important not merely for the sake of the offenders themselves, but to reduce the possibilities of imitation. The investigation and the resultant action must be conducted with a minimum of publicity.

Further action and the ultimate disposition of the case depend on a study of the child's background, for the shock of detection is usually sufficient to prevent an immediate recurrence of the offense when the school takes ordinary precautions. Sex misconduct is more than an offense to be punished; it is a symptom that must be investigated and evaluated and a problem that must be solved. There is therefore no universal remedy that can be prescribed.

The treatment must include the positive program of aiding

the pupil to find a better outlet for his interests. Premature sex curiosity can be satisfied by recommending books that contain accurate information suitably presented. The student may be encouraged to participate in desirable social activities and in such extracurricular activities as are appropriate in his case. The youngster whose affection for his teacher becomes embarrassing can be given opportunities for assisting her by taking care of routine classrooom activities. When the teacher employs these remedial suggestions, she must be careful not to exaggerate the significance of what the student has done lest he be given the impression that he is now irrevocably damned and is doomed to physical and mental decay.

Frequently, the sources of the child's sex difficulties are to be found outside the school. This proved to be the case with Gregory M., who was a model pupil in his junior high school and became a serious behavior problem soon after he had been admitted to a senior high school.

Gregory's first term in the senior high school was uneventful; there were no symptoms of impending maladjustment. Shortly after the beginning of his second term, his teachers began to complain that Gregory was inattentive, sullen, quarrelsome, and increasingly disobedient and defiant. Twice he was absent from school for several days at a time and offered as an excuse the fact that he had quarreled with his mother and had left home. When he was away from home, he spent the days walking about the city, slept in subway trains and parks, and got money for food by panhandling. The situation reached a crisis when he was caught in an act of exhibitionism in a mixed class where he occupied a seat at the rear of the room. During an interview with a guidance counselor at the school after this incident, the mother complained that Gregory masturbated excessively and asked for the school's assistance in breaking this habit.

At first, the examination of the boy revealed little that was helpful. At fourteen and a half years he was in the fourth term of an academic high school. As we should surmise from his school status, the boy's mentality was above normal, his I.Q. being 126. He was a handsome fellow, in good health, slightly above average in height and weight. Neither the mental nor the physical examinations revealed any major defects or peculiarities. The counselor consequently assumed that Gregory's difficulties, arising as they did when the boy was between

thirteen and fourteen years of age, could be attributed to the direct and indirect effects of adolescence.

However, there were other factors at work. During the interview with the mother, the counselor learned that the mother had remarried about a half year previously, after having been a widow for some ten years. The family was poor and lived in a two-room apartment, all three members of the family sleeping in the same room. Gregory was then about fourteen years old and was getting along well in his first term at the new school. Shortly after the mother's remarriage, the boy became disrespectful, disobedient, and quarrelsome at home; the two had previously been fond of each other and had been getting along well. It was at this time that the school noticed a change in the boy's conduct. Gregory and his stepfather had little to do with each other, but they did not quarrel.

After a series of conversations with the boy and his mother, the counselor initiated a many-sided attack on the sources of the difficulty. A folding-cot was purchased on which Gregory slept in the kitchen, no longer sharing his parents' bedroom. This arrangement made it necessary for the boy to get out of bed promptly on arising in the morning. Steps were taken to build a more cordial relationship between Gregory and his stepfather. The two arranged to go to some ball games together, and the man was asked to manifest his approval of the boy's achievements in school. Gregory showed some interest in dramatics and in chemistry. He was therefore encouraged to join the school's dramatic society and was granted special permission to become a member of the chemistry laboratory squad. His superior mentality, previous academic record, and his own reading in chemistry justified his being permitted to become a "laboratory assistant" even though he had not yet studied chemistry in the high school. Arrangements were also made for a visit to the counselor once a week in order to continue their friendship and to discuss school and home problems. Three months later there was sufficient improvement to warrant the closing of the case, although Gregory continues of his own volition to call on the counselor from time to time for a brief informal visit.

The teacher should not attempt to treat the more serious types of sex maladjustment that are sometimes found among school children. Instances of definite homosexual tendencies or of sadism require psychiatric and psychological facilities and techniques not available to the teacher. The school can do much harm by handling such cases for at the very least it delays the time when the child is referred to competent agencies.

Moreover, children should not be exposed to the bad influence of the student who is so mature or perverted that he is found to be teaching undesirable practices to his classmates. The school is interested in his welfare, but it is equally concerned with that of the rest of the class.

It is easier to prevent sex offenses than to treat them. The program of sex education has as one of its results the reduction in the number of instances of sex maladjustment. There are additional precautions that the school can take to prevent misconduct on school grounds. By supervising those places most conducive to misconduct, and by exercising such supervision apparently as routine procedure without publicizing the purpose of her vigilance, the teacher can prevent the occurrence of many problems that are extremely difficult to treat once they have occurred. Thus, the pupil lavatories should not be ignored as they frequently are. The use of tile partitions that do not take pen or pencil writings well and that are easily washed simplify the control of the pupils' tendency to write obscenities. Some teacher or pupil guard should make frequent visits to discourage loitering there. The janitor's assistance can be enlisted to good avail. To reduce loitering, children who leave the room during the day should be asked to record the time of leaving and of returning to the room. Generally only one child should be permitted out of the room at any one time, and study should be made of those who regularly stay out for too long a time. No part of the room or building should be so remote as to gain the reputation of being immune to a visit from the teacher or the principal.

There is, at present, no objective evidence that sex education succeeds in eliminating the sex causes of emotional disorders, nor can there be such scientific demonstration of its efficacy until sex education becomes more nearly universal and the generation that is now in school has had the time to grow up. The foundation of a sound knowledge of child psychology and of the rôle played by sex factors in influencing emotional

health suggests the desirability of using sex education as one of the many ways by which the school tries to improve the emotional life of its normal students.

Problems for Study and Discussion

1. What can the school do when each of several groups in the community has its own interpretation of what constitutes the best possible sex adjustment?

To illustrate: The Board of Education in a city of 135,000 revised its high-school biology course and included such topics as reproduction among plants and animals, including man, and the care of the body, including sex hygiene. The Women's Auxiliary of a local church objected to these topics as being inappropriate in a publicly supported school. The press joined in the controversy. The morning paper supported the Board of Education, while the evening paper criticized the biology course. The issue will probably be injected into the municipal elections in the fall.

What should the Board of Education do?

2. What can the teacher do when the child's sex maladjustment results more from the community's attitude and practices than from the child's own attitudes and habits?

Julia L. comes from a conservative Spanish-American family which believes that unmarried girls must be chaperoned when they go out with young men. When Julia was a high-school senior, she asked repeatedly for permission to join a group of her friends who went on weekly hikes. Amazed at the liberties taken by the younger generation in America, her parents refused to let her go.

Julia then devised the subterfuge of telling her parents that she had to spend her Saturdays studying at the library. She would then go to a friend's home, change into a hiking outfit, and join her other friends. This stratagem was used successfully for several weeks, until her father met her on the street as she was returning from an outing. That evening, there was a bitter quarrel at home. Several relatives who were visiting the family agreed that the girl had committed a serious offense against the moral code and apparently suspected graver violations.

The following Monday, Julia spoke to one of her teachers about running away from home.

What should the teacher do?

3. In a boys' junior high school, a teacher saw a sheet of paper on the floor near her desk. Thinking it to be one of the written exercises done by her class, she picked it up and included it with the other papers. On reading it later, she found that it was a note written by

one boy to another pupil in her class, indicating the arrangements that had been made for committing a homosexual act.

What action should the teacher take?

4. What can be done with a conscientious, well-behaved adolescent boy whose persistence in volunteering to perform various acts of kindness is beginning to embarrass the young woman who has just been engaged to teach history at his high school?

5. During the lunch period, a high-school teacher notices a small group of boys and girls laughing uproariously in a corner of the school cafeteria. On passing the group a little later, she overhears a smutty story and assumes that they have been engaged in exchanging such anecdotes.

What should she do?

6. What should the teacher do when she discovers that pamphlets on sex education which were given to one pupil have been distributed among the entire student body?

7. Do you agree with the psychologist who wrote: "It is better to tell the child too much and too early than to tell him too little or too late"?

8. How does the principle "sex maladjustment is often a symptom rather than a cause of maladjustment" influence the procedure for dealing with instances of sex misconduct in high schools?

9. Why are more men than women committed to institutions for the feeble-minded? Why are more boys than girls enrolled in special classes for mentally retarded children?

10. Assuming that sex education should be positive in its recommendations, enumerate several specific positive suggestions concerning sex conduct which are appropriate for high-school students?

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† The first three books on this list may be used with pre-adolescents. The others are intended for adolescents.

IX

REDUCING THE CONFLICT BETWEEN HOME AND SCHOOL

Most child-guidance clinics are really parent-guidance clinics. Calling them child-guidance clinics facilitates parental coöperation, for it relieves the family of any obvious stigma. So much of the child's problem grows out of the home situation that the school soon discovers it must enlist the family's coöperation if a solution is to be reached. Diddy and Roberts, after comparing the records of patients successfully adjusted with those unimproved at the close of treatment at the Minneapolis Child Guidance Clinic, conclude, in part: [1]

> The majority of successful adjustments could be accounted for on the basis of a change in parental attitudes, which appeared to be at the basis of the problem. . . . The school was found to play a constructive rôle in treatment but, without the coöperation of the parents, the chances for adjustment there were slight.

HOME SOURCES OF PROBLEM BEHAVIOR

That behavior-problem children come from the broken home more often than better adjusted youngsters do is amply demonstrated by numerous investigations. In Sullenger's [2] group of 1,145 juvenile delinquents in Omaha, 50.7 per cent were from broken homes, as contrasted with 19.3 per cent of the general

[1] M. Diddy and H. Roberts, "A Comparison of Patients Successfully Adjusted with Those Unimproved at the Close of Clinic Treatment," abstracted in *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (December, 1932), p. 190.

[2] T. E. Sullenger, "Juvenile Delinquency a Product of the Home," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Vol. 24, No. 6 (March–April, 1934), pp. 1088–1092.

child population in broken homes. Shaw and McKay,[3] investigating the family background of 1,675 delinquent boys and an equal number of boys in their control group, found the rate of broken homes to be 1.18 times as great for the delinquent group as for the control. In Auden's[4] study of 200 consecutive juvenile court cases, 30 per cent of the delinquents under ten years of age came from broken homes, and 64.3 per cent of the boys between fourteen and sixteen years of age were from broken homes, indicating that normal home life may be an important stabilizing influence on the adolescent. Studies of non-delinquent problem children yield results similar to those for delinquents: namely, the increased frequency of broken homes among problem children suggesting that the broken home is a significant contributing factor to, but not the only cause of, emotional maladjustment.

The home that is sociologically normal, that has the child living with both parents, may be worse in its influence on children's development than is the broken home. Because of the objectivity with which the broken home can be defined and detected, most investigations of the family background of problem behavior have been limited to a study of the rate of incidence of broken homes, ignoring the effect of unbroken homes that can be even more detrimental.

The father and the mother, although living together, may be so hostile to each other that the home atmosphere easily becomes unhealthful. Parents can be weak, and they can be domineering; they can handicap the youngster with too much solicitude, and they can be ignorantly or viciously indifferent to his welfare. Gathered from a single elementary school, the fol-

[3] C. R. Shaw and H. D. McKay, "Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency," National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, Vol. 2, Report No. 13 (Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 1931), p. 275.

[4] G. A. Auden, "The Maladjusted Child," *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (November, 1931), pp. 266–278.

lowing instances illustrate the types of parents from whom the problem child springs: the mother who regards suspiciously everything her eleven-year-old son does and who questions him constantly about the ulterior motives for his acts; the father who refers to his son's paralyzed leg as a "stump"; the parent who alternately beats and ignores his seven-year-old daughter; the mother who has no control over her fifteen-year-old son, knows that he gambles and steals, and stands by helplessly, yet refuses to coöperate with the clinic; the father who opens the conversation with the teacher by volunteering the opinion that his daughter is stupid and will never amount to anything (the girl's intelligence quotient is 101); and the family that threatens not to buy the son a new suit until his name has appeared on the school honor roll for two consecutive months.

The National Committee of Visiting Teachers, in its demonstration of what visiting teachers can do to aid the behavior-problem child, listed the following undesirable home conditions as occurring most frequently among the children it studied.[5]

Attitude toward the child
- Too indulgent
- Lack of supervision
- Too severe
- Partiality to particular children

Attitude toward the school
- Lack of coöperation
- Lack of ambition
- Overambition

Conditions in the home
- Lack of harmony
- Improper diet
- Lack of opportunities for study
- Lack of opportunities for play
- Inadequate opportunities for sleep
- Broken home

[5] J. F. Culbert, *The Visiting Teacher at Work* (New York, Division of Publications, The Commonwealth Fund, 1929), p. 47.

- Immoral conditions
- Alcoholic parents

Family status

- Chronic poverty
- Periodic economic strain
- Maladjustment due to foreign-born parents
- Temporary economic strain

Conditions such as those which have just been enumerated are important factors in the background of the child's problems and must be improved before his emotional disturbances can be corrected. The obvious difficulty of changing some of these conditions necessarily limits the extent to which the school can aid the child.

THE GAP BETWEEN THE HOME AND THE SCHOOL

Just as some children learn to pit one parent against the other, so other youngsters are quick to utilize the conflict between home and school. At home the child explains that his school failings result from the teacher's pettiness and the school's prejudice. He is thus spared the uncomfortable job of removing the weaknesses indicated by the school record. In class, on the other hand, the pupil gains sympathy by referring to his family's ignorance or cruelty. One crippled high-school student succeeded in dodging almost every school task he disliked. All he did was look morose until he attracted the teacher's attention, then he confided how his parents and his brothers had teased him that morning about his helplessness and his awkwardness. He was so upset that the teacher soothed him and tried to take his attention off the disagreeable "memory" by giving him some interesting chore to do. Investigation disclosed that there was no factual basis for the boy's complaints about his home.

Many of the child's conflicts have their origin in the divergent attitudes of the home and the school. The home that looks

upon schooling as unnecessary and upon compulsory education as just another means of depriving the parent of the child's earnings, condones truancy. The parent who is ever ready to sign the note, "Please excuse my son for being absent yesterday as he had a bad cold," virtually tells the child not to take his school responsibilities seriously and sets the stage for maladjustment at school. Some of the problem child's difficulties in school can be traced to the family which expects the child to follow a course of study for which he is unfit.

Because the school has failed to educate the parent along with his child, the family occasionally insists on confusing the youngster by following the educational practices of a generation ago. The primary-grades teacher who is using modern methods to teach reading is frequently confronted by the complaint that "My boy has been in this school for six months and he doesn't know the alphabet." Such parents correct the school's "faults," and the child develops the reading habits his teacher is trying to prevent. The family may ridicule the school's methods, as when the parent who learned a foreign language as his mother tongue belittles the slow progress made by high-school classes. Likewise, those who have attended traditional schools see no value in the project activities of today.

Every experienced teacher knows numerous instances where the source of the conflict that is upsetting the child's emotional equilibrium is to be found in the behavior patterns developed by the home.

In one class, Joe, the eleven-year-old monitor whose special duty it was to clear the blackboard at the end of each lesson, was busy one day, and the teacher, not wishing to disturb him, asked another pupil to erase what had been written. A neighbor of Joe's then leaned over and said, "Joie lost his job!" The response was immediate. Joe flared up and hit the boy who was crowing over Joe's humiliation. During the talk with the teacher that took place that afternoon, Joe revealed that he didn't consider his conduct at all unusual. If he annoyed his brother at home, his brother hit him; when his brother annoyed Joe, then Joe did the hitting.

Is any real treatment of the condition possible until there is active coöperation between an enlightened home and a sympathetic school?

School Background of Home Problems. On the other hand, home conflicts sometimes originate in the school. Lessons on nutrition have often resulted in unpleasant scenes when the sensitive child who has taken the lesson too seriously refuses to eat the typical meal served at home. The child's demand for an individual towel may be misinterpreted by the ignorant home as implying that the family is filthy. The pupil's repeated requests for money for new note-books and for contributions to school funds annoy the parent who cannot spare the money; the parent's refusal irritates the youngster who is unwilling to expose his poverty to his teacher and classmates. The ignorant parent may not understand the nature of school work and may not believe that the youngster who is reading a library book or is drawing pictures is truthful when he says he is doing his home work. The child of foreign parents may feel that she becomes a better citizen by despising the family's customs.

Coöperation between home and school is more than desirable; it is essential if progress is to be made in preventing or in curing maladjustment. Of what use is it, for example, for the teacher to attempt to socialize the timid child unless the home, too, is willing to make the necessary adjustments?

MINIMUM DEMANDS THE SCHOOL MAKES OF THE HOME

It is easy enough to enumerate the home sources of children's emotional problems and to find fault with the way other people rear their children. The difficulty arises when the teacher asks what she can do to improve the situation. It is as futile to tell parents they must be emotionally adjusted as it is to command the problem child to be good. There are, however, several minimum demands that the school does make of the home.

Though the school cannot order parents to be well mated, it can ask that they control the outward manifestations of family

discord, at least as far as the child is concerned. Violent differences of opinion should not be aired in the youngster's presence, nor should he be encouraged to despise one of his parents. The child should not be permitted to play one parent against the other till he gets what he wants, regardless of its desirability.

So far as economic conditions permit, the family should assure each child adequate attention to his physical welfare. The habits of eating and sleeping should conform to standard principles of good hygiene. Where the family is too poor to afford needed medical or dental care, it should be ready to utilize community health clinics.

Parental discipline must be consistent and determined by the child's needs instead of by the parent's mood. The standards set by each parent should harmonize with those enforced by the other. The home should use methods of discipline that are more effective than thrashings or upbraidings administered whenever the parent loses patience. Like school discipline, parental discipline must be positive and should consist of more than sporadic outbursts of temper.

The home must be attentive to the habits formed by the child. This refers not merely to habits of bodily care and cleanliness, but to such personality traits as play habits, self-reliance, and characteristic ways of meeting frustration.

That the child is not a miniature adult is a platitude in the school; for many homes it remains an undiscovered truth. Thus the family loses patience with the youngster who does not use adult bases for evaluation and who does not appreciate the generosity of parents who furnish food, clothing, and shelter, or the wisdom of a state that offers free public education. The ignorant family considers children's play as a waste of time and children's problems too trivial to merit thought.

To the home, there is little the child cannot accomplish if he but wills to do so. Low marks at school are regarded as indicating laziness, and failure to excel in such a special field as

music is the result of indifference. The home, more often than the school, asks the youngster to emulate the achievements of those far superior to him and then treats his inevitable failure as disobedience or stubbornness. The home must learn to judge the child as an individual, not in comparison with other youngsters.

In their honest zeal for their child's happiness, misguided parents often project their own emotional problems into the child's life. The sincere, devoted mother who has been deserted by a faithless husband, or whose married life has been unhappy, may interfere with her daughter's normal emotional development. The immigrant parent who has been deprived of formal education may have to face the fact that his son simply does not have the abilities necessary for a professional career, and the mother who was stage-struck in her adolescence should realize that her daughter may not want to be an actress.

Parental devotion is noble, but it should not blind the parents' eyes to the efforts made by other agencies to improve the child's adjustment. The mother who comes to school ready to defend her offspring against the teacher should be made to realize that both the school and the home are interested in her child. The school cannot anticipate parental agreement at all times, but it has the right to expect the parent to coöperate with any person or group that is trying to make the child's life fuller and happier.

REDUCING THE CONFLICT BETWEEN HOME AND SCHOOL

Improving the Teacher's Knowledge of the Child's Home Background. The teacher is frequently as ignorant of the pupil's home environment as the family is unaware of what goes on in the classroom. It is common for the teacher in the smaller towns to be an itinerant. She often comes from another social or racial group than the child's and thus has only a vague or a distorted idea of the culture from which the child has sprung.

After-class conversations with students will increase the teacher's understanding of the family's views. The English teacher can use topics for oral or written compositions which urge the child to reveal the attitudes and the customs of his home. Frequently, the teacher can learn much about the students' homes by arranging for spontaneous dramatizations in class. According to this procedure, the teacher suggests a situation and calls on several students to act it out. Thus, one high-school English teacher offered this setting: a girl wants to go to a dance on Saturday evening, and her mother objects. An elementary-school teacher proposed the story: a boy who has been caught cheating on a test must ask his father to sign the examination paper on which appears, in red ink, the notation, "FAILED—CHEATED." When the actors run out of ideas, other members of the class are invited to offer suggestions. Such exercises are valuable because the pupils naïvely reveal their family's attitudes and procedures.

Informal contacts with the parents sometimes lead to invitations to visit the home; it is unfortunate that so few teachers feel free to accept these invitations. When the class is composed largely of foreign-born pupils or of the children of foreign-born parents, the teacher will find English translations of their native literature a convenient means of discovering the pupils' social background. The teacher who visits the home instead of summoning the parent to school sees much that would otherwise be unknown to her. The school that understands the pupils' family background knows how to proceed to win the parents' assistance.

"Open School Week." "Open School Week," with its attendant newspaper publicity, increases popular understanding of modern education. Ordinarily, the teacher has so many parents visiting the class in one day that there is insufficient time for the type of interview that is necessary with the parents of the behavior-problem child. It is, however, a good opportunity for establishing a cordial relationship with the home. For this pur-

pose, the class exhibit of pupils' work should include some contribution from each child, and the teacher's conversation with the parent should center about the youngster's qualities and not his failings. The most serious limitation of "Open School Week" is that the only parents who visit the school are those who already appreciate its work; the hostile and the indifferent parents ordinarily do not appear.

The Parents' Visit to School. Sending for the child's parents is generally employed as a disciplinary measure, but it can be used to suggest the possible home sources of problem behavior and to secure parental coöperation in the treatment. Because the visit causes the parent considerable inconvenience and often brings him to school feeling indignant and hostile, the urgent summons is reserved for the most serious cases.

Though the principal, with his greater experience, maturity, and authority is likely to impress the parent more than the teacher does, it is ordinarily the teacher who should interview the parent, at least the first time he comes to school. Several advantages follow when this contact with the home is left to the classroom teacher.

The teacher is familiar with the child's total personality, whereas the principal's knowledge is usually limited to the incidents constituting the basis of the complaint against the child. The teacher is better qualified to discuss the probable causes and the treatment with the parent. Personal contact between the parent and the teacher is an important means of helping the child's adjustment. If the teacher is to understand the pupil's background, it is desirable that she see the parent and establish harmonious relations with the home.

The principal's conduct of the interview may give the impression that the teacher has been superseded. The same concession or modification that is easily made by the teacher now appears to the child or to his parent as a victory that implies that the teacher was wrong. Even the teacher may be dissatisfied

with the results of the interview and may feel that the principal did not give her the support to which she is entitled.

The teacher hesitates to invite the coöperation of the home if doing so involves reporting the case to the office and getting her superior's permission to summon the parent. Rightly or wrongly, the teacher often feels that she is being judged by the number of such reports she makes, and she may not want to publicize the problems encountered in class. When the parent comes to school, the teacher knows that her methods are being discussed behind her back and that the principal is evaluating her without her being there to correct and to explain. We have not yet reached the stage where teachers are ready to admit, in practice, that there is no disgrace in having problem children in their classes.

To make the interview with the parent effective, the teacher must succeed in gaining the good will and then the confidence of her visitor. Since these are easily alienated by her assuming an inquisitorial manner and a censuring tone, it is preferable not to take notes during the interview, for the teacher can write her impressions as soon as she is alone, and to conduct the talk as an informal conversation. The interview is more effective when conducted out of earshot of bystanders.

These interviews should take place in the absence of the class, when the teacher has the necessary free time. The knowledge that the class is awaiting her return leads the teacher to rush through the talk, only to realize later how much she forgot to ask and to tell. The parent's entry while the class is in session proves a disconcerting distraction. He may come while the class is busily at work on some activity of its own, yet, recalling the stern discipline of his own school-days, he may consider the class disorderly and the teacher weak.

It is unwise to play into the child's hands by stating the complaint as soon as the parent arrives. The chances are that the youngster has already prepared the way for the visit by telling

his family how the teacher always harps on his misdoings and ignores those of the rest of the class as surely as she overlooks his good efforts. The parent sees corroboration of this when the teacher begins by telling of the boy's misdemeanors. A tactful approach wins the parent to her way of thinking before she begins the account of the specific incidents that led to her calling the parent. Every parent is interested in hearing of his child's accomplishments. Why not begin by referring to the praiseworthy phases of the child's behavior or work? Show some work he did that deserves commendation or ask about his activities at home in such a way as to imply interest. The school must convince the parent that it is not enraged, but concerned. The child's problem can then be broached as an indication of the school's desire to assist in solving a problem in which the teacher and the parent have a common interest.

The parent who belittles the teacher's account of the youngster's behavior must be confronted with specific instances of the child's problem behavior. As soon as a pupil shows signs of becoming a problem, it is wise for the teacher to keep a written record of the time, the place, and the nature of the manifestations. It will take time to do this, but even in a large class there are comparatively few children for whom this record need be kept. The energy expended is well used if it aids in convincing the parent of the need for further action in the case. These written records serve also to lend substance to the complaint made against the child. A general statement to the effect that "Grace isn't coöperative" or that "Lawrence is shy" is unimpressive when compared with the simple recital of specific incidents which occurred at definite times.

The teacher must be an observant listener if she is to discover the possible causes of the child's difficulties. The teacher usually learns more by stimulating the parent or the child to feel at ease and by permitting him to talk freely than she will by pinning him down to definite answers to specific questions. Much of the information will come indirectly and not in reply to

pointed questions; for example, the parent's manner may be enough to indicate the kind of rearing the child has had. Instead of asking the parent whether he loves his son, the teacher asks him to tell how the boy behaves at home and what the family does about it. The interview should be a conversation and not an oral examination, lest the parent conceal inadequacies of the home situation.

What is the parent expected to do as a result of this interview? The teacher must be prepared with specific recommendations which interpret for the home the teachings of mental hygiene. These suggestions should be given singly instead of being so numerous that the parent is overwhelmed by the complexity of his task. It is better to have the parent see the success of a single suggestion and then come to the teacher for further help than to have him leave the school convinced that its requests are impracticable.

Both parent and teacher should be interested in the possible causative factors and in the opportunities for removing these conditions. A little book to be signed daily by both parent and teacher is often satisfactory as a device for following up the interview. This daily report should contain reference to the child's achievements as well as to his failings, or the youngster feels that this is another instance of the alliance of the world against him. With many pupils, the imminence of a daily report is both an incentive for good work and a deterrent to undesirable actions.

Parent-Teacher Associations. Parent-teacher associations have developed from the kindergarten mothers' clubs. When kindergartens were incorporated into the public-school systems, the mothers who accompanied their tots to school often formed groups, led by the kindergarten teacher, to discuss child psychology and education. From these informal beginnings the movement has grown till the National Congress of Parents and Teachers now has a membership of well over a million. The aims of parent-teacher associations as they state them are: "to

promote child welfare, to secure more adequate laws for protection of women and children, and to bring school and home into closer relationship."

For the more general problem of educating parents to modern principles of child care, the parent-teacher associations offer a useful medium. Their meetings are available for educating the parent to the school's changing philosophy and procedures. Among the topics for discussion are the physical care of the child, for example, diet and sleep; habit training, for example, the treatment of temper tantrums; and sex education as conducted at home. By providing opportunities for the informal meeting of parents and teachers, the association facilitates the coöperation of home and school.

Parents have a point of view that the school should recognize. To the school, the pupil is often a single item in a great mass; to the parent, the child is an individual. The parents can contribute much to a better evaluation of school practices by reemphasizing the importance of the individual child. To illustrate, the programs for children attending a large high school are made on a wholesale and impersonal basis. The parent, however, wonders why his daughter has to carry a heavy briefcase from the first floor to the fourth floor and then back again to the first floor for the next period. It is not possible for the school to make all the modifications requested by the parent, yet his attitude provides an important criticism of educational procedures.

These associations often provide for needed services and supply materials not included in the school budget. Thus they may supply clothing and eye-glasses for poor pupils or endow theatrical performances for children. Their assistance is available for extra-school activities that reduce maladjustment.

There is another material advantage for the school in having a strong parent-teacher group in the community. It is the taxpayer who decides how much educational progress is to be made. If the school can teach parents what it is trying to do, the

possibilities of progress are enhanced. When any wave of governmental economy hits the school system, there is danger that the newer aspects of education, which were not part of the school experiences of the parents, will be the ones to disappear first. Since these are the modifications that mean much for the pupils' adjustment, it is desirable that the parents interpret the school to the community.

However, these associations do not always fulfil the promise they offer to those interested in parental education. According to the results of Butterworth's investigation,[6] approximately 10 per cent of the time at meetings is devoted to a discussion of the nature of the child and to parental education. Most of the time is devoted to entertainment, finances, and discussions of topics not related directly to child care.

Generally, it is the enlightened parent who joins the association, while the ones who really need the meetings do not attend either out of indifference or timidity. Occasionally, the parents form cliques that reflect local politics and snobbery. It is difficult to plan a meeting that is interesting enough to attract all parents and yet sufficiently "solid" to maintain its hold on the intelligent and busy parent.

In some instances teachers and principals refuse to coöperate with parent-teacher associations. The non-professional attitude of those principals and teachers who are unwilling to participate in additional educational activities is only partly responsible. Frequently the parent-teacher association is itself to blame for the indifference with which it is regarded by the school. An overzealous president may forget that running a school requires professional training and may interfere with the machinery of school administration. The damage done by tactless parent-teacher officials is not always easily repaired.

To increase their effectiveness, parent-teacher associations must solve the following basic problems: What part should the

[6] J. E. Butterworth, *The Parent-Teacher Association and Its Work* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1928), pp. 8–26.

teacher play in the parent-teacher association? How can the parent-teacher association solve the problem of the heterogeneity of parental background? How can it attract all classes of parents? How can the association best broaden its scope so that it is more than a social and philanthropic organization?

Despite the objections that have just been raised to some aspects of their work, the parent-teacher associations are both actually and potentially valuable as a means of bringing the home and the school closer together.

Adult-Education Forums. Adult-education forums can be used to repeat the early history of the parent-teacher association. Again parents meet with the teacher or some other competent adviser to discuss problems of child psychology. The lessons of mental hygiene are presented, not as a series of abstract principles, but as specific suggestions that answer questions raised by the home. The discussion method is the basic procedure used. Though the group leader should come with a series of varied cases that he will present until the parents begin offering their own problems, problems that are sometimes astonishing in their simplicity or bewildering in their complexity, he must be ready to depart from a prepared outline to follow the leads suggested by the questions. The forum's activities are not limited to child-study classes, but usually include groups pursuing varied interests in the arts, the sciences, and the social sciences. That the forum reduces the gap between home and school is obvious.

THE VISITING TEACHER

The Work of the Visiting Teacher. The typical visiting teacher is a person who has had experience as a classroom teacher and then has had special training in the principles and practice of social case work. The visiting teacher is released from classroom duties to spend her time visiting the children's homes and their classes in order to assist in the process of getting both home and school to coöperate in the solution of behavior problems. Her duties are not to be confused with those of the teacher

of bedridden children who visits the home for the sole purpose of continuing the child's academic instruction.

By virtue of her experience and training, the visiting teacher is able to understand the conflicting views of home and school. She is free to recommend changes in the home attitude or in the school practice and to maintain continuity in the attempts that are being made to reëducate the child. Her background in social work familiarizes her with the facilities of other agencies and makes it easier for the school to enlist the assistance of coöperating organizations. She encounters many more problem children in one term than the average teacher sees in her whole career and becomes more expert in diagnosis and treatment. She is also enabled to follow the careers of these children for a number of terms and thus evaluate the efficacy of various modes of treatment.

School systems have discovered that visiting teachers are often able to achieve better adjustment of behavior-problem children. Children who are drifting into serious maladjustment that would later require institutional treatment are often detected early enough to prevent the greater cost to the community and the lasting unhappiness of the child. Every community that has used visiting teachers can furnish scores of illustrations of their untold value in correcting and in preventing serious maladjustments.

The Scarcity of Visiting Teachers. Despite their conceded value, the number of visiting teachers in America is woefully inadequate. One metropolitan area has eighteen visiting teachers for a school population of a million. In 1929, about twenty years after the origin of the visiting-teacher movement, there were only 238 visiting teachers in the United States, distributed among eighty-five cities and six counties in thirty-four different states.[7]

[7] H. W. Nudd, "The Purpose and Scope of Visiting Teacher Work," in M. B. Sayles, *The Problem Child in School* (New York, Division of Publications, The Commonwealth Fund, 1929), p. 280.

The amount of attention that can be given to any one child is limited so that the visiting teacher often has to content herself with treating the superficial aspects of the youngster's behavior. Usually only the most serious cases come to her attention. Children who are clearly showing signs of marked maladjustment are deprived of the necessary treatment until their cases are too far gone for effective treatment. At the present time, the addition of visiting teachers to the staff in order to prevent maladjustment is often out of the question because of the expense entailed.

The shortage of visiting teachers may be attributed in part to the small number of people who have the experience and training required for effective work, but this is not an insurmountable obstacle. The field is attractive enough to invite capable teachers to secure the special training necessary.

The chief objection to visiting teachers is financial. The budgets of school systems are ordinarily so limited that money is not available for teachers who do not have a regular class. It is unfair to have the entire financial cost of visiting teachers borne by the school system, because their work helps reduce the expenses for courts and penal institutions, for relief and social work, and for the hospitalization of mental cases. The benefit society derives from having its citizens in better mental health cannot be computed in dollars and cents. In view of the widespread influence of the work done by the visiting teacher, it is preferable to have the cost of their activities distributed among several branches of the municipal government. This is only a bookkeeping economy, but it will increase the number of teachers that can be detailed to this work without impressing the community with the "extravagance" of the school system.

Problems for Study and Discussion

1. A junior high-school teacher asked Evelyn, one of her pupils, to bring her mother to school. To the parent, the teacher painted a

dark picture of the girl's behavior in class. Evelyn hit younger children and teased her classmates. She was rude and insolent in her attitude toward school officials. The mother was summoned when the girl had been discovered stealing the lunch money of one of her classmates. To all this the mother, a coarse and slovenly woman, replied, "I have no trouble with her at home. Why can't you take care of her in school? What am I supposed to do?"

What course of action would you recommend to the teacher?

2. Billy W. is an attractive four-year-old who has just been admitted to a private kindergarten. After only two days, he has already been labeled a "sissy" by the other tots. His blond hair is kept in long curls. The mother dotes on her son and shows him off on every occasion. She babies her child quite a bit; for example, she still feeds him by spoon.

What should the teacher say to the parent? Why?

3. When Marie was fifteen years old, she had an affair with a man ten years her senior. When she became pregnant, her parents instituted criminal proceedings which were dropped when the man agreed to marriage. Marie and her husband moved to another city where they lived together for three years. During that time he was abusive and cruel Suddenly, he deserted the family. Rather than return to her parents, Marie went to work to support herself and the child.

Her daughter is now seventeen years old and a high-school senior. As a result of her own experiences, the mother has prevented her daughter from having any contact with boys. The girl may not go to any dances or even to a party at which boys are present.

The Dean of Girls learned of this case when this student exclaimed "How disgusting!" during a lesson on sex hygiene in a Health Education class.

What should the Dean do?

4. A large metropolitan high school has an Adult Education Institute attended by the parents and staffed by volunteers from the regular corps of teachers. The section on Problems of Child Psychology is led by Mr. F., the director of the school-guidance committee, an experienced and understanding teacher of adolescents. For several meetings they have been discussing problems of home discipline, with emphasis placed on problems presented by the parents themselves.

At the fifth session, a newly-enrolled parent referred to the home life of a teacher he knew. The man ridiculed the "new psychology" and spoke of the difficulty this teacher acquaintance was having in rearing his children. Soon, the other parents present were volunteering numerous stories of the sad results when teachers become parents. At this point, Mr. F. presented another case study to the group, but

found that the usual tone of the discussion was gone and that the parents were now ridiculing his proposals by carrying them to unjustifiable extremes.

How can Mr. F. regain his former position in the group?

5. Thomas R. is a twelve-year-old boy in a fifth-year class. For two successive days, he reported to school in the morning and was absent in the afternoon. The teacher discovered that the boy, together with some older pupils, spent the afternoon removing plumbing fixtures from deserted or vacant houses and selling the metal as junk. The parent was summoned to school and, although an easy-going man who seemed to have little influence at home, appeared to be convinced of the need for closer supervision of his son. He promised to see that Thomas came to school regularly. For the rest of the week, Thomas had perfect attendance, but on Monday of the following week the boy was absent again.

What should the teacher do now?

6. How can the school reduce the conflict arising from the difference between the family's dietary or hygienic practices and those advocated by the teacher of health education?

7. What line of questioning will aid the teacher to discover parental methods of discipline without being so blunt that the parent becomes resentful or wary?

8. Why are adult-education forums ordinarily more successful when conducted by high schools rather than by elementary schools?

9. Why do we need special visiting teachers even when the classroom teacher has the time and energy necessary to visit the homes of her pupils?

10. How can the parent-teacher association reach the indifferent or ignorant parent?

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X

EASING ENVIRONMENTAL STRESSES

THE school has lost its autonomy as a microcosm; modern thinking includes it as a single factor in the larger social world. The causes of school maladjustment are no longer sought exclusively in the classroom; they must be found in all the different social forces that act upon the child. The fact that a child's father has been unemployed for months, that his mother is a chronic invalid, that his sister is serving a prison sentence for larceny, that the neighborhood pool parlor is his playground —these circumstances may have a greater bearing on his behavior than has any one incident in the school day.

Though environmental factors often form the background for problem behavior, they are usually too deeply rooted in community life to respond to the individual teacher's efforts. What can she do to combat extreme poverty, the neighborhood pool-room with its hangers-on, the negligence of a corrupt municipal administration, or the pauperizing effects of badly directed philanthropies? So many fundamental causes of emotional disorders are to be found in the community that the teacher who is interested in the prevention of problem behavior must be an intelligent citizen concerned with every program that promises to improve community life.

ECONOMIC FACTORS

Poverty. In an industrial civilization, the feeling of economic security is fundamental for emotional stability. The older the student is and the more clearly he senses the economic insta-

bility of his family, the more dangerous poverty is to his emotional health. Low economic status affects emotional adjustment both directly and indirectly.

Seen from a respectable distance, poverty is a romantic condition which strips life of its snobbishness and reduces it to fundamental human values; the adolescent may envy the artist who lives in a garret and starves himself to buy paints. The teacher, however, sees its effects in another light: poor food, unsanitary and overcrowded living conditions, inadequate medical and dental services, inability to take advantage of educational and recreational opportunities, and the premature imposition of adult responsibilities. It is not astonishing that studies of problem children show them to come largely from the poverty-stricken homes; that more poor children do not become emotionally unsound is a tribute to human ability to rise above the environment.

The indirect effects of poverty are no less devastating than the direct. "Success begets success." All have noticed the transformation in bearing and in personality of the man or the woman who has been elevated to a higher post. On the other hand, one of the most tragic accompaniments of economic depressions is the loss of self-respect that manifests itself even through such surface changes as those in posture, in gait, and in speech. Where earning power is accepted as a measure of personal worth, the man whose wages are meager has little opportunity to gain group esteem or his own self-respect. Like inferior mentality, poverty is a relative condition which is determined as much by the income of one's friends as by one's own earnings. The problem child sometimes needs, not psychiatric treatment, but a remunerative position for his father.

Some of the more obvious concomitants of poverty can be relieved by an intelligent and sympathetic teacher. In its financial demands, even in such petty requirements as note-books or gymnasium outfits, the school must be guided by its poorest pupils. The teacher must be considerate in her requests for

contributions to school athletic funds, for subscriptions to school newspapers, and for membership in such deserving organizations as the Red Cross. Economic status cannot be judged by personal appearance, and it may be better not to press the attractive, neatly-dressed girl for her reasons for not buying the school magazine. When the school administers direct relief and supplies food or clothing to its indigent pupils, there should be as little publicity as possible attending its efforts. In one school, tickets for free lunches are distributed by monitors, with the various teachers announcing: "Those who get lunch tickets, stand! Come to the desk for your tickets." There is little justification for directing the attention of the entire class to the individual pupils who need free lunches. The least the school can do for the poverty-stricken child is to refrain from embarrassing him unnecessarily.

Vocational Maladjustment. Vocational guidance will not eliminate poverty, but it can reduce economic insecurity and personal maladjustment. The "general course" which is so popular in elementary and in secondary schools, encourages the policy of delaying a vocational choice. The young elementary-school graduate doesn't stop to consider where he is going or how he is going to get there. "General education" is so attractive a way of dodging responsibility that the pupil proceeds to the high school with no idea more definite than that he is getting an education. Education for its own sake is a desirable ideal, but it is also one way of postponing the day of reckoning. The student sometimes proceeds to college and, still unable to make up his mind as to what he is going to be, works toward a liberal-arts degree. Sooner or later, he has to leave school to discover that he has not prepared himself for his work in the outer world. He then drifts into the first job that comes along and in many cases keeps right on drifting until some sort of adjustment is achieved. At best, this procedure is wasteful and demoralizing.

Vocational guidance aids the child's mental health and facili-

tates his adjustment both in school and after leaving. The dull child often realizes that the curriculum will not prepare him for the work that he will later do. The school course lacks appeal for him since it is obviously beyond his ability and outside his interests. Were the school to plan his career with him, he would then see the utility of the subjects he is studying. One of the major causes of school maladjustment, namely, the curriculum that does not jibe with the child's interests, is thereby reduced. Such vocational planning will undoubtedly excuse the student from some of the subjects that have no meaning or value for him.

The older pupil may be sensitive to the need his family has for his earning a livelihood fairly soon. Attendance at school seems to him to be a hardship, since it serves only to delay the time when he will take his rightful place as a wage earner. He is worried about the prospects of finding work, and this anxiety is reflected in his conflicts with the school. Vocational guidance and vocational education mitigate the effects of this conflict.

The child who leaves the elementary or academic secondary school to go to work finds himself unprepared and unqualified. Only those who have experienced it know the discouragement of an unsuccessful search for work. The shock of such failure is even greater for the child who has led a rather sheltered life within the school and who starts his search for a job confident that finding one will be easy. He has not yet learned that initial failure does not necessarily mean permanent inability to find a position. His first contacts with the business world emphasize his own inferiority and worthlessness. Proper training can ease the shock.

Even the child who is qualified to work rarely knows how to go about looking for a position. The school has taught him how to write letters of application for a job, but he finds it unnecessary to write letters. Besides, he doesn't know where to find the person to whom he is to write. In school he has learned to solve problems in arithmetic, in history, and in science, but he

has not learned how to solve the problem of finding a job. As a result, he tends to feel that his work at school has been a waste of time and communicates this attitude to his friends who are still students. Their reactions to the school curriculum are not improved by the constant reminder that their studies will not help them in later life.

It is too much to expect the teacher to master the special skills that are needed for vocational guidance with all her other problems and duties. The counselor must have up-to-date information of the changing demands for various types of work, of the facilities the community has for training its artisans, and of the available methods for selecting the proper person to do the right job. Such information is ordinarily not accessible to the teacher who has the responsibility of preparing for the daily work of the class. When counseling is done by those who are not specially skilled and well equipped, it is often too general to have much value.

Vocational education should not be permitted to dominate the elementary-school curriculum; its influence is especially objectionable in the lower grades. There is no need for differentiating the course in reading or in the fundamentals of arithmetic for children who will later be doing different types of work. The elementary-school curriculum should be centered about the child's present life and upon the acquisition of the principal tools of learning. To permit vocational education to enter these lower grades results in a stultification of the educative process.

Overspecialization is not an inevitable consequence of vocational guidance. "Arithmetic for plumbers" is out of place in the elementary grades, and there is more than a casual resemblance between Business English and the English used in noncommercial activities. The necessary modifications of the basic curriculum can be introduced later as part of the vocational curriculum.

The traditional basis for recommending children for vari-

ous secondary courses needs reëxamination. The secondary schools assume that the academic-professional course is intended for the most intelligent student group, the technical course for the next best group, the commercial course for the third level, with the industrial course reserved for the least intelligent students. This classification is founded on evidence of dubious value. The reports that this gradation is in accord with the average intelligence quotients of students pursuing these courses are inconclusive until we know to what extent the condition results from educational guidance previously given the children. Studies of the average intelligence required for success in each of these fields are likewise incomplete, for they ignore the amount of overlapping. Some types of commercial work require more intelligence than do the lower levels of technical and professional work.

The practice of transferring to the technical course those students who fail in the academic course is unjustifiable. If they continue to fail, they are shifted to the commercial course or to trade work. Apart from the waste of time and the discouragement caused by repeated failure, this procedure is unsound because it assumes that less intelligence is needed for success in technical work than in academic work. The selection of courses should be made in accordance with the pupil's needs, abilities, and interests.

The pupil's vocational interests are useful means of motivating school work. The child will change his ambitions many times before he arrives at the one that will dominate his life. Nevertheless, the youngster who thinks he wants to be an aviator's mechanic is more vitally interested in his school work when he believes that the course of study helps him to attain his goal. The work in art, in composition, and in many other subjects of the curriculum is given direction and purpose when it is related to his "vocational ambition." The problems that are assigned in arithmetic, for example, may come from his field

of interest and thus give the child the thrill of achievement in work he considers significant.

A situation requiring tactful treatment is that presented by the parent whose ambitions for his son or daughter are not in harmony with the child's ability. It is all very well for the teacher to say that the parent must be realistic in his evaluations of the child's ability, yet if she were in the parent's position, she would probably behave just as he does. It is difficult for the parent to realize that his child is so inferior that a little extra help will not remove the deficiency. The parent's social group demands that the child be equipped for work at a certain level, or his own thwarted ambitions find expression in plans that are made for his youngster. It is not enough that the teacher reconcile the parent to a career that is a little less ambitious than the one originally anticipated; she must secure the family's wholehearted coöperation so that the child will not be reminded constantly, both by direct references and by thinly veiled allusions, that he is inferior and that the parents are disappointed in him. It is only the unusually intelligent and broad-minded parent who can do this. Unfortunately, most of the instances of such maladjustment arise in families that are less intelligent and more dogmatic in their choice of the child's career.

A similar problem is presented by the child who prepares himself for a career for which he is obviously ineligible because of intellectual limitation or another defect serious enough to bar him. It is only natural that the student should seek consolation in his own ability to remove the defect and to overcome its limiting influence. He may resort to such clichés as "There is always room at the top," or "By the time I apply for the license to teach, my speech will be free from defects." In some respects it is easier to redirect the pupil's vocational interests than it is to change those his parent has for him. The attractiveness of some other vocation may be suggested in class by the use of reading assignments, discussion periods, and talks by outside speakers,

until the youngster has a new interest. The second interest may not be the one he will finally select, but it can be used to weaken the hold of the ambition that is far beyond the possibilities of fulfilment.

The school must do its best to translate from theory into practice the reputed respect that Americans have for manual labor. The youngster must not be permitted to develop erroneous concepts of the relative merits of the different types of work. Much of the maladjustment that follows when the child finds himself cut off from the career he selected results from the feeling that he is a failure and that he is condemned to do menial work. The child should be convinced that life is full of a great number of interests and activities that are open to all, regardless of the way one earns a livelihood. The importance of avocations for a well-rounded child or adult should be stressed and applied.

RECREATIONAL FACTORS

The school that is interested in the pupil's adjustment to his present environment and to that into which he will be graduated must take cognizance of the type of recreation with which the child occupies his free time. It is not only that our society is headed in the direction of greater leisure for the average adult and that the school must prepare for the profitable use of that time, but that the child's leisure activities are full of opportunities that hold both promise and threat for his emotional health.

Commercialized recreation is a broad term which includes any form of recreation that is offered by members of the community on the basis that it is available to all who have the necessary money. This type of recreation is afforded by dance halls, public billiard parlors, motion-picture theatres, and professional baseball games.

Commercialized recreation cannot be condemned unequivocally, for it has a legitimate place in the typical American

community, but often many and serious problems arise therefrom. In general, the amusement offered is passive. The spectator watches some one else play ball, perform on the stage, or run. As a result the life of the person who sits impassively when he should be active is little enriched.

By virtue of their commercial character, such institutions charge a fee that may be beyond the child's means. He is tempted to get the money in ways both honest and dishonest. Moreover, recreation of this sort is offered on the basis of money alone; no effort is made to direct the child to the type of recreation he really needs. There is the danger that the child will be exposed to contacts with undesirables who haunt the cheaper recreation centers. Often the clientele of such places is composed largely of "toughs" and unemployables to whose influence children should not be exposed.

Motion Pictures. The motion pictures rank high among the leisure activities that have great appeal for children of all ages. Owens found that in his group of behavior-problem boys, the motion pictures were second only to the "street" as the most frequently used type of recreation.[1] The Motion Picture Research Council reports that children from five to eight years of age attend the movies on an average of twenty-two times a year,[2] that children under fourteen years constitute one sixth of the American movie audience, and that approximately twenty-eight million children and adolescents may be found in the motion-picture theatres in the course of the week.[3] It would be fortunate if so popular a medium were to aid in the child's adjustment; however, the motion pictures frequently add to the problems that must be faced by teacher and parents.

The child is too young to be exposed to the constant eye-strain that is involved in frequent attendance at the movies.

[1] A. A. Owens, *The Behavior-Problem Boy—A Socio-Educational Survey* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1929), p. 99.

[2] E. Dale, *Children's Attendance at Motion Pictures* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1935), p. 33.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

Though there have been no adequate studies of the strain that results from such attendance, it is reasonable to infer from adult experiences and from children's eye-strain resulting from the less strenuous classroom activities, that young children should not be exposed excessively to the motion pictures.

Drs. Renshaw, Miller, and Marquis [4] have shown that children's sleep is disturbed for several nights after an evening visit to the motion pictures. With the disturbance in sleep come the attendant conditions of irritability and tension that interfere with the development of good behavior habits.

The motion-picture habit is a strong and an expensive one; children are willing to get the money by taking it, if necessary. The temptation to resort to petty larceny is thus increased. Though the relationship of motion-picture attendance to crime is frequently accepted by social workers, no objective evidence indicates precisely how often the need for motion-picture money does lead to crime.

Interested largely in securing as great a financial return from each picture as possible, the motion-picture industry seeks to market a product that will interest both children and adults, both illiterate and educated, both poor and rich. Consequently their output is usually inappropriate for the young child. The fascinating details of crime are dramatized before his eyes as excitingly and realistically as the director can arrange. The earlier dime novels and "westerns" led merely to worship of the straight-shooting hero and to the child's imitative "bang bang," but the movies today show just how the young men hold up the gasoline station and give explicit directions for the commission of a variety of other asocial acts.

Sex scenes are acted out with more gusto than the average child may ever hope to experience in his own life. At the period when society requires that the child postpone the satisfaction of his sex desires, the motion pictures present a vivid portrayal

[4] S. Renshaw, V. L. Miller, and D. P. Marquis, *Children's Sleep* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1933), pp. 95–186.

of the pleasures he is missing. The studies of the Motion Picture Research Council offer ample evidence of the effect of the pictures on suggestible adolescents.

Motion pictures help the child to create a false set of values. Peterson and Thurstone [5] have demonstrated the effectiveness of motion pictures in changing children's attitudes, and other investigators have found that children and adolescents imitate the movies in both insignificant and significant details.

What then are the attitudes developed by the screen? Most stories assume financial success to be praiseworthy no matter how it is attained; that the films whet the desire for additional luxuries is not to be denied. The characters are generally well dressed, have motor cars at their disposal, and give the impression that a happy life depends on material factors. How does this affect the youngster whose parents' straitened circumstances put most luxuries and many comforts beyond his reach? Analysis of the motion picture often reveals "a predominance of undesirable, often tawdry 'goals' in life, with a population of characters to match the goals." The set of values presented by the screen does not deserve the influence it has on children.

The custom has developed of permitting children to go to the movies on Saturday and Sunday afternoons unaccompanied by adults. Recent catastrophes in theatres show how dangerous the practice is. A study of motion-picture theatres in a fairly large American city [6] "revealed that one in seven was a fire trap, with 40 per cent of them presenting real fire hazards. Sanitary conditions and facilities were found to be bad." Where regulations prohibiting the admission of a child unaccompanied by an adult are in force, it is a common practice for "kind-hearted" strangers to buy the child's ticket for him and then leave him to go his own way once the tickets have been collected. No new tragedy is necessary to prove the danger of this procedure.

[5] R. C. Peterson and L. L. Thurstone, *Motion Pictures and the Social Attitudes of Children* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1933)

[6] White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, 1930 (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1931), p. 256.

It is desirable to have special matinees for children and not to permit them to attend the regular performances. Switzerland has already adopted this procedure. It is too much to ask of producers that every picture be prepared as a child's picture, but there are enough motion pictures available to supply children's matinees. Many schools have motion-picture projection machines which may be used for the purpose.[7] A small admission fee would more than cover the expense involved. Since few adults would attend these performances, an enlarged corps of ushers will supply the necessary amount of supervision as a precaution against panic.

Parents must be educated to the need for careful supervision of their children's motion-picture habits. The problems that arise from excessive attendance and from attendance at evening performances must be brought to the family's attention. Some of the women's magazines and parents' publications offer a regular service which evaluates the desirability of various pictures from the child's point of view, as well as from the adult's.

With the film an established form of contemporary creative expression, the school curriculum should include activities designed to raise the level of appreciation. Such courses can make attendance at the motion-picture theatre a stimulating experience, can improve the student's basis for selecting the pictures he is to see, and can overcome some of the objections to motion pictures that have been raised above.[8]

The teacher, who is interested in removing every menace to the child's wholesome adjustment, may easily exaggerate the danger that is inherent in motion pictures, the radio, and the

[7] The hostility that some groups in the motion-picture industry have for such suggestions as these is indicated by the following articles in the *Motion Picture Herald:* "What Exhibitors Say of Parents-Teachers Plan," Vol. 119, No. 1 (April 6, 1935), pp. 12–13; "What Teacher-Parent Congress Is," Vol. 118, No. 13 (March 30, 1935), pp. 10–11; "Meddlers Seek to Grab Screen to Finance Welfare Work," Vol. 118, No. 13 (March 30, 1935), pp. 9–10.

[8] W. Lewin, *Photoplay Appreciation in American High Schools* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1934), pp. 122.

other forms of commercialized recreation. There is little support for the alarmists' view of motion pictures. One must not forget that most children suffer little permanent injury from occasional visits to the motion-picture theatre. The youngster can read a fable without improving his habitual conduct patterns, and he can see a motion picture centering about the exploits of a desperado and yet not feel tempted to loot a bank. Indeed, the elder generation has always found fault with the way youngsters spend their time, and many a teacher was punished in her childhood days for having read books and magazines of which her own parents and teachers disapproved. The teacher must not view the motion-picture screen as an evil to be eradicated, but as a force that must be regulated and directed so that its educational value will be enhanced. Much good can be accomplished by reforms executed within the motion-picture industry, but even more can be achieved by helping parents and teachers to see the need for guiding the child's recreational activities.

The Radio. The radio offers a leisure activity resembling the motion pictures in many ways. The scenes are generally not as vivid as they are on the screen, and the details of crimes are ordinarily omitted. Moreover, the radio has a tradition of censorship that, undesirable though it may be in other ways, has nevertheless served to keep the radio on a less harmful level than the motion pictures.

Considerable objection has been raised to some of the children's programs on the ground that horror incidents receive too much attention. In many cases, radio programs have caused night terrors among children. Another difficulty arises from the custom of having the more attractive programs on a national "hook-up." The size of our country and the influence of the daylight-saving movement combine to bring about the circumstance that many popular programs are offered at hours long past the bedtime of the average child. The disturbance in his routine causes the same sort of upsets as late attendance at the movies.

The radio introduces another factor to add to family tensions. Many of the programs designed for youngsters advertise children's foods and aim at setting up child resistance to any home diet that does not favor the sponsor's products. Sometimes the suggestions are more pointed; one program, for example, advised children thus: [9] "If your father and mother tell you that you must eat warm breakfast food to keep your bodies warm, just tell them that they don't shovel hot coals on the fire to keep the house warm."

The school must recognize the appeal that the radio has for the child and direct it along desirable channels. Discussion of radio programs in school, reports on material heard on the radio pertaining to the work of the class, suggestions to pupils of interesting programs for them to listen to—these are helpful in directing the child to the more valuable broadcasts.

The School and Education for Leisure. The school itself is rich in possibilities of worth-while leisure activities for the child. Unsatisfactory methods of presenting these subjects keep the pupil from appreciating their recreative value. Let us take the study of literature as an illustration. In how few instances is there a correlation between the child's reading interest outside of school and the type of literature studied in school. The magazines a high-school student reads during week-ends are rarely the ones his teachers recommend. Why?

The first count against the typical literature curriculum is that the level is so far above that of the student that the books read in school seem to him to suggest work rather than play. *Julius Caesar* is studied in the junior high school and *Hamlet* in the senior high school. As presented there, with "notes" and a glossary at the end of the play, the pupil is led to believe that it is all difficult to understand. Teachers are influenced too much by the desire to present to the child the "best" in literature.

Despite the preachings of those who have considered the

[9] T. R. Henry, "'Terrorism' on the Radio," *Journal of the National Education Association*, Vol. 24, No. 5 (May, 1935), p. 146.

problem carefully and regardless of the investigations conducted in the field, the intensive rather than the extensive method of teaching literature is still used widely. Poems are read for the first time, then for the second time, and for the third time, till the student is familiar with the various allusions and can define the words used. Such reading of poetry does not commend itself to the pupil as a possible leisure activity. Many lessons in literature are as factual in tone as are chemistry lessons.

Teachers of literature will object that the picture which has just been painted is an exaggerated one. For many teachers, it is. In their own classes some teachers are freer in their method and in their choice of content. Why is it then that the practice of giving mid-term and final examinations is still so common in secondary schools? Can we measure success in teaching literature by counting the number of children who know the answer to questions like "To which country was Gabriel deported?" The trend in favor of new-type questions has strengthened the hold that factual material has on the teaching of literature. When the student learns that he is to be failed or passed in literature on the basis of these factual questions, is he to be blamed when he feels that "good" books should be read for profit and not for pleasure?

The situation in music and in art is frequently similar to that found so often in the teaching of literature. All three subjects ostensibly stress appreciation. Consider the method of teaching music in one school to illustrate the inadequacy of pious hopes alone as a stimulus for a love of music. This elementary school receives most of its instruction in music from a young woman teacher who is sincere both in her love of music and in her desire to stimulate such an interest in her pupils.

The pupils are assembled in the auditorium for their instruction. As they wait outside the door for the signal to enter, they are formed into straight lines and cautioned to maintain absolute silence. They remain at attention until the music for their entry is played. At the sounding of the signal, they march into

the auditorium and remain standing. One chord, "Get ready!"; the second chord, "Sit!" After the children have sung the national anthem and a hymn, they sit back for the "music appreciation." The victrola is used for reproducing the selections that are to be played. One selection is begun, and the teacher interrupts the music to tell the children to listen to the next few bars which contain the theme of the selection. The composer's name is written on the board as is the title of the composition. The theme is repeated while children hum the name of the composer and the composition in an attempt to fix them in their memory. At the conclusion of the selection, another is played, and the same procedure is repeated. No comments other than those made by the teacher are permitted. Silence, attention, and rigidity of posture are all that are demanded of the child.

Is it any wonder that the child who learns his music in this way is not interested in the next concert that is announced? How many adults would attend concerts or the opera if they were associated with the formality of a music class such as the one described? Music must be associated with leisure, with flights of fancy in which one soars far above the troubles of the daily world, not with rigidity and silence. It is when one listens to music that the imagination obeys the entreaty of Roxane in *Cyrano de Bergerac,* "Improvise! Rhapsodize! Be eloquent!" That must be the spirit of the music lesson if it is to contribute its proper share to the child's leisure life.

An experiment conducted in the fifth-year class of a typical urban elementary school illustrates the possibilities of music when taught differently.

A committee of experienced music teachers listed ten pairs of records with which most children are not familiar. The two records in each pair were considered similar in type, in level, and in attractiveness. By lot, one record was used for the experiment, while the other in the pair was kept for the control. There were then two sets of ten records each, with the sets apparently equally attractive to children. The pupils, of course, were not informed of the experiment.

One morning, the office monitors entered the classroom carrying

the victrola and a package of records. The pupils were surprised to see the machine at that time, and the teacher explained that since it was already there, they might as well use it. Because it was not their regular music period, the children were not compelled to listen. In fact, they could go on with the work they were doing; they could read; they could play games (provided that this could be done without disturbing the rest of the class); or they could just sit back in any comfortable position and listen.

As the first record was about to be begun, the teacher looked at the title and then remarked that it was a composition with which she was familiar. She then told the class, quite dramatically, the story which Tschaikowsky's "1812 Overture" represented in music. No attempt was made at teaching anything; the sole purpose of the teacher's introduction was to put the class in the frame of mind appropriate for listening to a selection of this sort. Though attention was not demanded, it was freely given by the children. The other selections were treated in the same way. For each, the teacher had some interesting anecdote, some introduction that set the tone for the selection and stimulated interest. Each week a few new records were played, and some old ones were repeated.

The series of lesson-concerts was continued for the rest of the term. In the minds of these pupils, music was soon associated with freedom, relaxation, and pleasure. At the end of the term, the pupils were asked whether these lessons should be repeated with the teacher's next class. A secret ballot resulted in a unanimous affirmative vote.

The youngsters were then asked to help select the records to be used in the succeeding term. Each child was provided with a sheet of paper numbered from 1 to 20; as each of the twenty records was played, the pupil indicated on the appropriate line whether he liked the record, disliked it, or was indifferent. No titles were mentioned, but ten of the records were compositions that the children had heard in the course of the term, and the others were from the "control" group. The balloting overwhelmingly favored the records with which they had become familiar.

These findings can be interpreted to indicate that the pupils liked the selections they heard under the experimental conditions. The teacher reports that as the experiment proceeded, the attention given by the children increased, although no child was ever asked to "pay attention."

The teacher's genuine enthusiasm is the first condition necessary if she is to present a subject so attractively that the child will make a leisure activity of it. She need not be the person who is constantly gushing forth in class, "Isn't this a perfectly

grand poem?" or "Just look at this marvelous painting." Let any teacher treat a subject as though it really means something to her, and the class, or some part of it, will react similarly. There are elementary-school classes with collections of unusual rocks gathered on hikes and chalk carvings made at home or in school. One class is so enthusiastic about astronomy that a great number of the pupils have joined junior astronomy leagues.

The subject-matter must be on the child's level of comprehension. Where enthusiasm is to be developed, difficulties of understanding must not be permitted to act as a barrier. What is the harm of permitting the boy to read Alger stories or those relating to the adventures of the Rover Boys or of Tom Swift and his pals? Let the child develop the reading habit, and the school has the foundation on which to build the desire to read better books. It is with the child who has never learned to enjoy reading that the teacher of literature has difficulty.

The pupil should be introduced to the out-of-school possibilities of his studies The class should visit museums and libraries, and the children should be shown how to go about getting inexpensive tickets for concerts or the theatre. Contacts can be made whereby the pupils may learn more about the facilities for the further development of their interests. Such associations as the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and the Camp Fire Girls, which are rich sources of avocational activities, deserve more support and coöperation from the school than they generally get.

The school's facilities should be used more liberally. It is wasteful to permit the school's resources to be idle so much of the week and year. Not only must more complete use be made of the auditorium and the playground, but children should be permitted to borrow, with suitable precautions, some school materials for home use. Pupils in the middle grades of the elementary school and in the secondary schools can surely be trusted to take care of school property which is loaned them overnight for special use. Included among the materials avail-

able for this purpose are drawing equipment, construction materials, inexpensive laboratory apparatus, and books in which the child is interested. Interested pupils should be told where they can purchase inexpensive materials of their own.

The school can encourage the development of hobbies. A students' exhibit of their leisure activities offers suggestions to the individual who has found nothing worth while to do. Talks by pupils and by outsiders are useful for starting the child on new lines of development. The teacher can indicate the leisure-time possibilities of each of the school subjects.

The interests developed in school should have a wide range. The recreational possibilities must include all types of activities —mental, manual, athletic, and social—so that each child will have the opportunity to select those that fit his needs and his inclinations. If the possibilities that are presented are numerous, each pupil has something definite as a starting point for the development of leisure activities.

Extracurricular Activities. Extracurricular activities are excellent means of stimulating wholesome leisure activities, besides influencing personality development in other ways as well. Thoreau once complained that he experienced difficulty in understanding why universities charged fees for permission to listen to lectures while the far more valuable privileges of sitting in the library or walking and conversing with friends were free. Similarly, the school fails or passes pupils according to their degree of success in mastering subject-matter, yet it disregards the ability to succeed in worth-while extracurricular activities. The feeling persists, even among teachers, that extracurricular activities are frills, without much meaning to the child's development.

Many of the extracurricular projects are experiments in curriculum construction. Already some of these have found a place in the regular curriculum: athletics is recognized as an integral part of health education; the writing of a newspaper is a part of the English course; and current events are discussed as

an accepted application of the work in social sciences. The progressive schools have demonstrated that a worth-while educational program may be built about the activities that are traditionally classified as extracurricular.

Extracurricular activities are so rich in the possibilities for developing the child and in improving his personal adjustment that they merit more attention than is ordinarily given them. They offer a practicable way of enriching the curriculum and of adjusting it to meet the student's needs. The school curriculum may be kept as a base, with extracurricular activities added to provide for the individual child. Such clubs as the Radio Club, French Club, Press Club, and Garden Club in effect add to the curriculum subjects in which the child is vitally interested, but that are too informal to earn school credit. Freed of the necessities of grading and of preparing children to pass uniform examinations, these clubs are oases of progressive education. The great variety of extracurricular activities generally found in even a moderately large high school, makes it possible for each child to pursue some work in which he is interested and to experience the satisfaction of achievement in a significant task.

The informal pupil-teacher relationship in extracurricular organizations assists the child in overcoming some of the difficulties of his school life. In the secondary school, it is not unusual for the child to have seven or eight subject teachers each term and not know any one of them intimately enough for a discussion of personal problems. The club adviser, however, functions continuously over a series of terms and is therefore more likely to win the child's confidence. This club leader is a unifying influence that is often extremely important to the child who is lost in the impersonality of a large school.

Extracurricular activities foster the ability to work at a task because of its significance and not merely because of the extrinsic appeal of marks and teacher compulsion. The pupil editor, for example, with the responsibility of seeing that the

copy goes to the printer on time is learning to carry an activity through to its logical conclusion. The responsibilities shouldered by the child as a natural part of his extracurricular activity can do much to develop his ability to assume responsibility in corresponding tasks out of school.

Such activities also develop the ability to coöperate with other children for the attainment of a common goal. The work of the club or the team is more highly coöperative than is the work of the typical class. The child must learn how to subordinate his desires to those of the group and also how to get others to agree with his point of view. The voluntary nature of these activities stresses, generally, the pupils' own selection of the group's leaders. In the normal competition for such positions, the child learns how to win his group's approval. The ability to get on with others and to get them to coöperate with him in a common undertaking is one that is easily practised in extracurricular activities.

The timid child who is indifferently successful in class is frequently able to win recognition in the club. Through these activities, he comes in contact with other children of similar abilities and interests. The process of socialization is thus facilitated by assuring him friends. He has a legitimate reason to visit these new friends when they are working together on an assignment for the group.

Some extracurricular undertakings offer worth-while suggestions for the profitable use of the child's leisure time. The great variety of these activities makes it possible for the child to find one that interests him. The many projects completed by the group or by individual members of the group suggest some that he may imitate or carry to a higher degree of excellence or completeness.

A few of the extracurricular activities have possibilities for the pupil's vocational guidance. Of course not all the members of the medical society will become physicians nor will all the students in the legal society become attorneys, yet the various

groups meeting in the school building do afford the student an opportunity of learning more about the requirements for the various professions and trades and of the conditions surrounding their practice.

To get the maximum value from extracurricular activities, it is advisable to modify the current attitude toward these projects and to change, in some respects, the manner in which these extracurricular groups operate.

The elementary schools are far behind the secondary schools in the use of extracurricular activities. Compared with the secondary schools, the great majority of our elementary schools have few activities. This is unfortunate since it is in early childhood that the youngster needs the assistance these activities can offer to his socialization. Though many of these organizations have to be modified before they are appropriate for the children in the lower grades, there still is room for garden clubs, story-writing clubs, hiking clubs, science clubs, radio societies, etc.

The spirit and the content of the extracurricular activities may be introduced into the class work. The teacher need not envy the interest that children lavish upon their extracurricular projects. The class paper may be used as an excellent means of teaching composition, and the school garden offers a vital way of studying nature. Many of the projects conducted in club groups have sufficient educative value to justify the use of class time in their completion.

School administrators must allow for the additional burden assumed by the teacher who undertakes the direction of an extracurricular activity. She should not be expected to assume these responsibilities without making some adjustment to provide for the additional labor. It is the general rule to expect the teacher to carry a full teaching program and incidentally to supervise an extracurricular activity. To be of most value, these activities must be regarded as important enough to warrant the teacher's equipment for the work. Any other attitude

is bound to reduce the prestige and worth-whileness of the activity.

The range and the conduct of the activities must be attractive enough to induce all the children to join at least one of the groups. It is desirable to require some degree of participation from all pupils in order to encourage the timid child. The junior high schools have been particularly successful in incorporating one period of club work each week for every pupil. The limitation that has arisen in this connection is that some activities prove to be so popular that it is necessary to shift pupils to less popular groups in which they are not at all interested. Even this difficulty can be overcome by forming several groups for popular types of work.

The attempt should be made to diversify the child's interests by encouraging or requiring him to participate in more than one type of activity. Extracurricular activities can be classified as: social, Tuesday Sewing Circle; subject-matter, Cercle Français; athletic, track team; and service, Library Squad. The student may be asked to join at least one organization in each of two divisions.

In the conduct of the club, the purely teaching aspects must be minimized. It is unjustifiable to use the club meeting in preparation for examinations that will later be administered to the students. The responsibility for the conduct of the project must be left, as far as possible, with the child. The newspaper that is published must be the students' paper, and they must learn to take the responsibility for the selection of the contents included. The play produced by the dramatic society may not be as good as the one directed by the teachers, but the value to the pupil is greater because he is free to solve the problems that arise. The teacher's function should be limited to that of adviser, literally speaking, and not of director. Pupils respect the teacher's experience and knowledge and will come for help in the solution of their problems. Such assistance should be given, but

it should not be permitted to stifle the children's enthusiasm for activities for whose success they feel responsible.

To prevent overemphasis on extracurricular activities, the school must limit the maximum number in which a child may participate in any one term. This precaution will reduce school maladjustment arising from the circumstance that the child finds the outside work so engrossing that he neglects his school work. Some schools employ a point system and then permit each child to select his own activities so long as he stays within the limits set by the maximum and minimum number of points for each student. The various positions in the group are weighted in accordance with the amount of work the position entails; for example, the position of reporter on the school paper counts one point while the post of editor is weighted at five points. The responsibility of assigning the weights may be delegated to the faculty adviser or to a committee selected by the children participating in that activity. A system of assigning points for extracurricular activities reduces the possibility that a few youngsters will monopolize all the positions and increases the number of children who can experience the satisfaction to be found in the successful filling of a responsible position. It also suggests that inactive membership has little value and tends to discourage the "joiner" who belongs to many clubs and does nothing.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Characteristics of High Delinquency Areas. Most studies of the influence of the neighborhood on personality development have been limited to delinquency and have presented conclusive evidence that some areas in one city have higher delinquency rates than other sections. It is difficult to separate neighborhood factors from forces which operate within the family. Thus areas with high delinquency rates are low economically, but the same number of poor families would have more than the average number of delinquents even if they lived far from each other.

In Maller's study of juvenile delinquency in New York, some sections of the city were found to have a juvenile delinquency rate of twenty-five to the one thousand children of court age, while other areas had a rate of less than one to the thousand children of court age; the average for the whole city was a little more than six to the thousand children. Comparing the areas with high delinquency rates with the city as a whole, Maller noted, among other factors, the marked differences summarized in the following table:

TABLE II

CHARACTERISTICS OF AREAS WITH HIGH DELINQUENCY RATES *

	Areas with High Delinquency Rate	City as a Whole
Density of population	210 to the acre	34 to the acre
Heath–Malnutrition among children	42%	19%
Economic status–Monthly rental ..	$18	$50
School status–Retardation in schools	41%	20%
Intellectual status–Average intelligent quotient in schools	83	100

* J. B. Maller, "The Why of Delinquency," *New York Times*, Sunday, April 15, 1934, Section IX, p. 4.

That the neighborhood itself is partly responsible for the delinquency rate is indicated by several studies, although it is impossible to eliminate the selective influence of a neighborhood, such as the fact that certain groups of people move into a given neighborhood and other groups leave it as soon as possible.

Detrimental Characteristics of Neighborhoods. Among the detrimental aspects of a neighborhood are poor recreational facilities, improper housing conditions, the frequency of undesirable establishments, the presence of predatory gangs, and bad companionship, all of which interfere with the possibilities of the child's making a wholesome adjustment.

The school therefore cannot remain an independent institution which ignores what other agencies are doing with the 88

per cent of the time when the child is not in school. It must cooperate with such social agencies as settlement houses and leagues for better housing. Where the school's influence is inadequate to effect an improvement in the living conditions of the neighborhood, it must extend its own activities to take care of more of the child's time, for example, by opening its doors for supervised recreation after school hours.

Religion. Strong religious feeling both facilitates and hinders the child's emotional adjustment. Belief in an omniscient and omnipotent deity adds to the feeling of security and eases the shock of sudden reverses. "Thy rod and Thy staff they comfort me." The child who agrees with Pippa that "God's in his heaven. All's right with the world," has a valuable stabilizing force. Thus, the youngster who has faith in the wisdom of his God is aided to recover quickly when a member of his family dies.

On the other hand, the church may contribute to the incidence of maladjustment by stressing the significance of sin and the existence of hell. The sensitive child easily imagines that he has sinned a great deal, and this preoccupation with the evaluation of his own behavior leads to an unhealthful degree of introspection and self-examination. A habit he is trying to overcome causes paroxysms of fear at the thought that he is imminently to be transported to hell. As in all character education, religious education must stress the desirability of right actions rather than the fear of punishment for the wrong.

It is difficult to evaluate the varying effects of religion on adjustment. Religion is often a potent cohesive force which aids the individual to identify himself with a large social group. Yet, in a community that is divided into smaller groups by religious animosities, strong religious beliefs may interfere with personal and social adjustments. Similarly, religion will add to one person's feeling of security, while with another individual it may lead to a smugness that ignores the possibilities of overcoming obstacles instead of resigning one's self to their inevitability.

Above all, the teacher must herself set a standard for toler-

ance of other's beliefs. More than almost any one else, the teacher realizes how often people are emotional rather than rational where religion is concerned. Since she can never be certain that her own religious adjustment is the ideal one, she is reluctant to interfere with the child's religious training. Only rarely does she meet the pupil whose religious or irreligious beliefs are the basic causes of the child's emotional difficulties. These cases should be referred to a competent psychiatrist or child psychologist for further study and treatment.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. A very intelligent colored girl who has done excellent work in the first two years of an academic high school suddenly asks for permission to leave school in order to go to work. When pressed for an explanation, she confides that her father has convinced her that there are few vocational opportunities for educated colored girls and that a high-school education is an unnecessary luxury for a girl who will later have to find a job as a maid or houseworker.

What should the school do?

2. A sixteen-year-old high-school student has been caught stealing books and supplies from the school. On investigation, it transpires that he is a janitor's son in an exclusive apartment-house section of a large city. His neighbors and friends are much wealthier than he. With the money he gets by selling stolen materials, he is able to live up to his group's standards when he and his friends go out on Sunday.

How should the school treat the boy?

3. In a slum section of a large city, there is a settlement house supported by a religious faith that is different from that of most of the people living in the neighborhood. Although the settlement-house workers have never made any move in the direction of proselyting among its club members, the parents in the neighborhood are openly hostile to the settlement. At home the children are told that the settlement-house workers are sinners and that it is sinful for a boy or girl to enter their building. The youngsters are puzzled because they see nothing wicked in playing basket-ball or checkers.

During a history lesson in a sixth-year class, the teacher was leading a discussion on the desire for religious freedom as a motive for colonization in America. One of the boys then said, "John's father says that the —— House is run by sinners and that it is wrong for us to go to their club meetings. Is that so Miss ——?"

How should the teacher deal with the situation?

4. What can the school do to relieve the economic uncertainty of its high-school and college students who wonder whether they will

ever be given an opportunity to apply what they have learned in school?

5. What can the school do to improve the social adjustment of those students who must spend so much time earning money after school hours that they have little time for developing friendships or for participating in leisure activities?

6. Should the curriculum in an economically poor section of a city or county be any different from that in the wealthier sections? Which changes, if any, are appropriate?

7. What criteria are appropriate when one is judging the merit of a motion picture to be seen by children?

8. How must extracurricular activities be modified before they can be used more widely in the elementary schools?

9. In many junior high schools each pupil is required to join a club. All told, is this element of compulsion justifiable?

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XI

MENTAL HYGIENE AND CLASSROOM DISCIPLINE

To most teachers, classroom discipline is an annoying problem to be solved as expeditiously as possible so that the class may proceed with its work. The psychiatrist, however, refuses to dismiss disciplinary procedures so lightly. He views them as more than a series of tricks used merely to assure pupils' instant obedience and evaluates classroom discipline as part of an educative process which regards the child's adjustment to the classroom as part of adjustment to the life situation.

All pupils are directly affected by the teacher's concept of discipline and by the daily practices she uses to attain her goal. In the list of classroom sources of emotional disorders, unwise disciplinary procedures are undeniably prominent, and in the improvement of the youngster's behavior tendencies, wholesome classroom discipline occupies an important place. Mental hygiene is therefore interested in classroom discipline both as a means of preventing emotional instability and as an aid to fostering personality growth.

THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN CONDUCT AND BEHAVIOR

Though "conduct" and "behavior" are synonymous in ordinary usage, they have different psychological connotations. As a result of the confusion in terms, investigations of so-called problem children have often proved to be irrelevant to problem behavior.

Conduct. Conduct is limited to the child's reaction to disciplinary demands at home, in school, on the playground, and elsewhere. His school conduct is satisfactory when he breaks

none of the teacher's rules and, in general, reacts in such a manner that he does not interfere with the smooth progress of the day's work. Conduct is generally evaluated from the adult point of view so that the child is considered "good" when he causes the adult, teacher or parent, a minimum of inconvenience.

The criteria used when evaluating conduct vary with the critic and the circumstances. Parents, more than teachers, ask the psychiatrist's aid for children who exhibit such neurotic characteristics as nail-biting, enuresis, and undesirable eating or sleeping habits.[1] Teachers are disturbed by conduct patterns that interfere with class work. After studying the records of boys transferred to the Lee Disciplinary School in Philadelphia, Owens [2] finds that the six offenses charged most frequently are: truancy, disobedience, fighting or bullying, disorder, defiance, and impudence. Haggerty,[3] after a survey of undesirable behavior traits in public-school children, notes that teachers, thinking of conduct and not of behavior, report the following six problems most frequently: lack of interest in school work, cheating, unnecessary tardiness, lying, defiance of discipline, and marked overactivity. Moreover, the children encountered in the psychiatric clinic of a children's court have been referred there for such infractions of the criminal code as theft, assault, and sex offenses.

There is, therefore, no set standard for judging conduct problems, and the same pupil may be considered a conduct problem by one agency such as the home which may complain of his food idiosyncrasies, and be rated satisfactory by another group. Investigations of problem children without indicating the type of agency that referred the child usually present a

[1] Ralph M. Stogdill, "Parental Attitudes and Mental Hygiene Standards," *Mental Hygiene*, Vol. XV, No. 4 (October, 1931), pp. 813–827.

[2] Albert A. Owens, *The Behavior-Problem Boy—A Socio-Educational Survey* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1929), p. 37.

[3] M. E. Haggerty, "The Incidence of Undesirable Behavior in Public School Children," *Journal of Educational Research*, Vol. XII, No. 2 (September, 1925), pp. 102–122.

limited and misleading picture of the behavior-problem child.[4]

Conduct problems often reflect the adult's mood and not the child's personality. Children's exuberance is commended one day and condemned the next. The three-year-old interprets as approval the laughter that greets his first use of the word *damn* and is puzzled when he is punished the second time he says it. Parents differ in their determination of what constitute undesirable eating habits. The psychiatrist therefore is not greatly concerned with conduct problems unless they are so severe or so frequent as to indicate fundamental adjustment difficulties.

Behavior. Behavior refers to the more basic question of the way the child reacts to stimuli—physical, mental, or social. When he responds in the manner of most children of his age, his behavior is considered *normal,* that is, *average.* Behavior is not judged as being *good* or *bad;* it is *normal* or *abnormal,* meaning usual or unusual. Thus, the teacher in a first-grade class finds the children's habit of swinging their legs under their seats rather annoying, but the psychiatrist expects this type of response from six-year-old children who are asked to sit in one position for a considerable length of time.

Behavior-problem children have been defined as [5]

> . . . those who stand out or who differ from others of their group because of certain undesirable habits, personality traits, or behavior in the home, school, or community; whose conduct interferes, or is likely to interfere with the individual's (or the group's) fullest development and usefulness socially, educationally, or hygienically; and whose behavior may result in more serious handicaps of one sort or another in later life.

[4] Can any generalization about the nature of problem behavior be drawn from a study which assumes that a problem student is one who has been detained after school more than three times in a single term?

[5] Jones, Olive M., and Taylor, G. R. (Co-chairmen) *Report of the Co-operating Committee on Behavior Problems of Children of the National Education Association and the National Conference of Social Work* (Washington, National Educational Association, 1926), p. 3.

Behavior is judged by its effect on the child's present and future adjustment to his environment and not by the convenience of the adult or his mood at a given time. The significance of a child's mode of response can be evaluated only in terms of the total personality picture. Thus a specific act like whispering in class may be too trivial to mention, or it may be symptomatic of erratically fluctuating attention.

The psychiatrist regards violent temper and seclusiveness as significant because of their importance as symptoms of fundamental personality traits that may lead to serious complications in later life. Mooney and Witmer [6] studied the case histories of ten psychotic adults who, as children, had been examined by a clinic for problem youngsters. Though the small size of the group deters the teacher from making any definite generalizations, it is noteworthy that each of these adults, when first examined as children, was characterized as solitary or seclusive with few or no friends, and that eight of the ten were reported to have violent tempers. Since shy and withdrawing children are seldom referred to clinics, psychiatrists rely upon the case histories of adult psychotics for evidence to support the contention that tendencies to depression, suspiciousness, and susceptibility to many fears are also significant behavior symptoms. When mental hygiene is viewed as the improvement of adjustment and not solely as the prevention of insanity, any behavior trait that jeopardizes a satisfactory adjustment becomes meaningful.

Cases Illustrating the Distinction Between Conduct and Behavior. The distinction between *conduct* and *behavior* can be clarified by reference to instances where a child is a problem in one respect but not in the other.

Philip J. is a timid youngster, retiring in every respect. In class his

[6] M. Mooney, and H. L. Witmer, "Ten Problem Children Who Later Became Psychotic," *Smith College Studies in Social Work,* Vol. 3, No. 2 (December, 1932), pp. 109–150.

conduct is exemplary. On the playground he meekly obeys all commands given by the teacher and the monitors. If there is an odd number of children, he is the one passed by when sides are chosen for games. In free play periods, he is generally to be found sitting by, watching the others play. When the health examination revealed his eyesight to be so poor that he could not possibly read what was written on the blackboard, he explained that he had not wanted to disturb the teacher by asking for a better seat. On one occasion, the class was left in the care of an inexperienced and incompetent teacher; the rest of the class was disorderly, but Philip was quiet and well behaved. His mentality is so far below the level of his classmates that he regards failure as an inevitable and an expected condition Though the school work is entirely unsuited for his present needs and his future life, he has never knowingly disobeyed any teacher. His conduct is regarded by the school as being "excellent," but he certainly is not making a perfect adjustment to his environment.

By contrast, Frank M. is so full of energy that he is always in trouble at school. Whenever he completes the assigned task sooner than do the other children, he finds a more pleasant activity to occupy his time, usually one that ends in a reprimand. He is so devoted a member of his "gang" that he consistently refuses all requests that he reveal the names of the participants in various escapades. Because of his general reputation for misconduct, he has been punished more than once for misdeeds committed by culprits whose identity he would not expose. Frank may be a conduct problem, but his behavior is normal for a boy his age.

Frequently, the same pupil is both a conduct and a behavior problem.

Thomas S. lived at an orphan asylum but attended the regular classes in the city schools. He resented the regimen at the asylum and carried his hostility over to the school. Any slight crossing of his wish resulted in an outburst of temper. When his arithmetic example was marked *Incorrect,* he spent his time trying to convince the teacher of her prejudice against him. By the time he was twelve years old, he had run away from the institution three times.

The turning point in his career came after he had been expelled from one school and sent to another. Here he met a young teacher, sympathetic and keen of insight, who was able to enlist the coöperation of the boy, his school, and the asylum authorities in an attempt to solve the basic conflicts. Within a few years, Thomas was as well adjusted as any of the children in the school. His conduct disorders disappeared as his behavior improved.

THE TEACHER'S AND THE PSYCHIATRIST'S EVALUATIONS OF CONDUCT AND BEHAVIOR DISORDERS

The distinction that has been made between *conduct* and *behavior* undoubtedly seems pedantic, yet it marks the difference between the teacher's and the psychiatrist's points of view. The teacher is ordinarily more concerned with conduct than with behavior; the psychiatrist is interested in the youngster's behavior and studies the child's conduct chiefly for the behavior symptoms that may be revealed. For the most part, the teacher tends to ignore behavior difficulties unless they are accompanied by conduct disorders.

Wickman's Investigation. More than any one else Wickman [7] has demonstrated the extent and the nature of the differences between the teacher's and the psychiatrist's standards for evaluating the seriousness of children's conduct and behavior disorders. Wickman listed fifty responses made by children and then submitted this list to classroom teachers. The same list of responses was sent to a group of psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers, all of whom were working with problem children. Both groups were asked to rank the children's responses in order of seriousness. Though there was a fair degree of consistency of judgment within each group, there was a marked difference in standards between the teachers and the psychiatrists.[8]

The teachers rated as serious those responses that definitely interfered with class routine and morale. To the extent that a distinction can be drawn between a youngster's using "attacking" rather than "withdrawing" mechanisms of adjustment, the generalization is justified that teachers rated "attacking" responses as more serious than "withdrawing" responses.[9]

[7] E. K. Wickman, *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes* (New York, The Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publication, 1928), 247 pp.

[8] The major results of Wickman's investigation are substantiated by Julius Yourman, "Children Identified by Their Teachers as Problems," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. V, No. 6 (February, 1932), pp. 334–343.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

> The majority of the items [rated as serious by teachers] represent what children do that is undesirable, not what they fail to do. Behavior problems, in the teachers' estimations, thus appear to be active disturbances that attack standards of morality, obedience, orderliness, and agreeable social conduct. . . .
>
> In the teachers' list [of items rated as serious] there is a conspicuous paucity of items describing child problems which are indicative of social and emotional maladjustment but which are not directly disturbing to school routine. Those individual problems of the child which do not cause active annoyance to the teacher appear only casually in the teacher's reports.

The psychiatrists tended to stress acts of omission more than the teachers did and relegated "transgressions against authority" and "violations of orderliness in class" to a position of minor importance. Again, the group that was dealing with problem children showed their concern with personality adjustments rather than with overt acts. A comparison of Table III and Table IV indicates the difference in standpoints of the school and the child guidance clinic.

Reasons for the School's Criteria for Evaluation. G. B. Watson [10] has defended the teachers' ratings by noting that they evaluated the various responses on the basis of their seriousness in class, while the psychiatrists reacted according to the diagnostic significance of these modes of behavior. Justification is unnecessary, for both points of view are valid. An action that represents normal behavior may nevertheless be undesirable when manifested in the classroom.

Psychiatrists rated "withdrawing, recessive personality and behavior traits" as more serious than dishonesties, cruelty, temper tantrums, truancy, immorality, violations of school-work requirements, and extravagant behavior traits; transgressions against authority and violations of orderliness in class were considered of minor importance. However, it is difficult to conduct a school today with such a scale of values. The psychiatrist, who does not have to present a set curriculum to a large class in a

[10] G. B. Watson, "A Critical Note on Two Attitude Studies," *Mental Hygiene*, Vol. XVII, No. 1 (January, 1933), pp. 59–64.

typical American community, can indeed be tolerant of acts of immorality, violations of school work requirements, and transgressions against authority. The teacher need not look askance at a well-behaved pupil. The present educational situation demands that the teacher strive for good conduct in her pupils. She is not free to accept the psychiatrist's standards even if she wants to.

TABLE III *

ANALYSIS OF PROBLEMS RATED MOST AND LEAST SERIOUS BY TEACHERS IN THE CLEVELAND SCHOOL

Problems Rated As Most Serious	Problems Rated as Reliably Less Serious, and Least Consequential of All Problems
Stealing	Shyness
Heterosexual activity	Fearfulness
Obscene notes, talk	Sensitiveness
Masturbation	Imaginative lying
Profanity	Unsocialness
Smoking	Overcritical of others
Disobedience	
Untruthfulness	
Cheating	
Unreliableness	
Temper tantrums	
Truancy	
Cruelty, bullying	
Impertinence, defiance	
Impudence, rudeness	
Destroying school materials	
Quarrelsomeness	
Disorderliness in class	

* E. K. Wickman, *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes* (New York, Division of Publications, The Commonwealth Fund, 1928) p. 98. Reprinted by permission of The Commonwealth Fund.

The teacher, busy with the many duties of her position, often views her class as composed of pupils, not of children. With most pupils, she knows little of their out-of-school life and judges them wholly by what she sees of them in class. Responses that make them poor pupils are regarded as more serious than responses that do not affect their school careers. The first stu-

TABLE IV *

RATINGS OF MENTAL HYGIENISTS

Withdrawing, recessive personality and behavior traits	*more serious than*	Dishonesties, Cruelty, Temper tantrums, Truancy	*more serious than*	Immoralities, Violations of school work requirement, Extravagant behavior traits	*more serious than*	Transgressions against authority, Violations of orderliness in class

* E. K. Wickman, *op. cit.*, p. 130. Reprinted by permission of The Commonwealth Fund.

dents to be viewed as individuals are the highly successful ones and those who present conduct problems. These two groups of students set the teacher's criteria for evaluating adjustment. Any procedure that aids the teacher to know her pupils as children and that impresses psychiatrists with the special problems faced by the teacher should reduce the differences in standards noted by Wickman.

Wickman remarks that the standards set by the school seem to sanction a feminine response rather than a more aggressive masculine response and attributes this to the preponderance of women teachers. Moreover,[11]

> It may be shown that the distinctions which teachers make between the attacking and withdrawing problems in children are entirely in line with the attitudes of society toward these same problems in the adult. The delinquent, the criminal, whoever attacks the government and the law or frustrates the avowed purposes of society, is punished. On the other hand, the socially dependent, the beggar, is neglected or becomes an object of sympathy and charity.

Classroom Implications of Wickman's Study. The teacher can profit from Wickman's report by asking herself two questions:

[11] E. K. Wickman, *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes* (New York, Division of Publications, The Commonwealth Fund, 1928), p. 164.

First, may the school not be attaching too much significance to some conduct problems that indicate little about the youngster's adjustment? All teachers have noticed that children's success in extracurricular activities and in their adjustment as adults is not always commensurate with their class conduct. Yet the school proceeds on the assumption that failure to conform to classroom regulations is indicative of inevitable maladjustment later. Constant revaluation of disciplinary aims is needed. With many classroom offenses that give the teacher much concern, she may well ask, "What of it? Is the elimination of that youngster's response worth the effort it takes?" Frequently the answer will be "Yes." Yet there should be greater justification for her efforts than her own pride and the desire to gain victory. The teacher must cultivate the ability not to hear or to see some of the things that occur in her classroom. Many minor lapses of discipline should be ignored since more is to be lost than gained by the teacher's noting and acting on every whispered conversation or lapse of attention. If the teacher is competent, this tolerance will not be misinterpreted by her class as indifference or weakness and will not lead to serious or widespread disorder. The ratings given by the psychiatrists challenge the teacher to evaluate her own standards.

Second, is the teacher not ignoring behavior difficulties that demand treatment but do not attract attention because the youngster fits in so well with a teacher-dominated situation? When the school psychiatrist stresses the problems presented by the shy pupil, it is not because psychiatry dismisses the bully and the thief as models of healthy adjustment. The teacher cannot ignore the aggressively maladjusted child, but she is so busy that she does overlook the "withdrawing" child who may be equally in need of her attention. Too often the teacher is satisfied when she has solved the conduct problems presented by her pupils. She is content to ignore problem behavior that does not affect class discipline.

THE ESSENTIALS OF SOUND DISCIPLINE

The mental hygienists' attitude toward discipline reconciles the divergent views of the school and the psychiatric clinic. It seeks a classroom method of control that eliminates conduct difficulties and that mitigates the effect of behavior disorders.

The Feeling of Security. Good discipline creates an atmosphere conducive to the feeling of security. The word *security* does not convey precisely the impression that is intended, but is employed here because it is the term widely used by psychiatrists.[12] A better word would be that used by Eugene O'Neill in *The Hairy Ape* where his characters speak of "belonging." The child must be given the impression that he "belongs" in the class of which he is a member. The same feeling is referred to by Goethe: [13] *Hier bin ich Mensch.* This impression is created more by the teacher's manner than by her words. It is not being fostered by the teacher who is prejudiced against the group of which the pupil is a member, nor is it cultivated by the teacher who is temperamentally so unsuited to class work that the children feel the teacher's strain and unhappiness.

For the feeling of security, children need a teacher who enjoys, or at least does not dislike, her work. The atmosphere of the room must give the child the impression that he has the teacher's confidence and her respect. Though the teacher uses various types of incentives to stimulate pupil activity, the tension induced by undesirable forms of rivalry or marks will be noticeably absent. The constant use of threats and punishment reduces the child's feeling of security. It is unnecessary for

[12] The connotation may be inferred from the following selection which illustrates how *security* is used in mental hygiene: "Simply defined, insecurity is the feeling of not being at home and not wanted in the environment in which one finds oneself. To this is attached the feeling of inability to do things as well as other people. This carries over into other feelings that one is not as good-looking as others, or that one is awkward, etc."—C. B. Zachry, *Personality Adjustments of School Children* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929), p. 47.

[13] "Here I am an individual."

the teacher actually to tell the child that there is mutual respect; in fact, mere words may dispel the feeling that the child should be, and is, at home in the class, that he *belongs*.

When a new pupil is admitted to a school, he faces an uncomfortable period of readjustment. It isn't at all a serious period, and it rarely results in lasting maladjustment, but the child finds it annoying to be in a new situation and to have no one of whom he can ask the numerous questions that come to mind. Then, a sympathetic teacher can help the youngster over the trying days and see that he has an opportunity to acclimate himself rapidly. One teacher greeted a newcomer with, "Why did they send you to me? Mr. B. [the principal] knows that I have forty-three pupils already. All right, take a seat." In the adjoining room, another teacher had a pupil "Reception Committee" for just such occasions. The newcomer was assigned to one of the members. For the first few days these two pupils sat near each other and were given expressed permission to converse whenever necessary. At dismissal time the reception committee announced the pupil's name and address and asked some one to volunteer to take him home and then to escort him back to school the next day. It is by little acts of kindness like this and not by saccharine statements that the teacher can give her pupils a feeling of security.[14]

At first glance there appears to be a basic contradiction between this emphasis on security and the attitude indicated by H. L. Hollingworth who suggests[15] that one "cultivate adaptability to insecurity" inasmuch as "mental health is promoted by a calm readiness for approaching emergency." However, security does not mean fixity, changelessness, or a state of bovine

[14] Pressey suggests that the good teacher and the good hostess have many traits in common; both try to make every one feel at ease, bring all into the conversation, and tactfully keep themselves in the background. S L. Pressey, *Psychology and the New Education* (New York, Harper and Bros, 1933), p. 142.

[15] H. L. Hollingworth, *Educational Psychology* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1933), p. 395.

indifference and laziness. It means merely the feeling of being at ease in the environment, of "belonging." Is it not symbolic that in Faust's compact with Mephistopheles it was agreed that the moment Faust said, "I am content," his soul was to be surrendered to the devil? Security implies ambition, struggle, and the desire to overcome obstacles in the way of success, but with the consoling and stimulating conviction that one is equal to the struggle.

The classroom where the teacher is the absolute tyrant, or even a benevolent despot, is not one where children are encouraged to use their initiative in solving the problems of the day. For the feeling of security, without which it is almost impossible to enjoy mental health, it is necessary to have a room where children are encouraged to do the best they can, knowing that failure will not be censured, though it will not be condoned. The pupils must feel that the criticisms offered by the teacher are motivated by the common desire to see the child advance rather than by the teacher's attempt to demonstrate her own superiority.

Positive Discipline. Teachers commonly regard discipline as being the technique of keeping children from committing a varied assortment of offenses. On viewing an infraction the teacher's first thought is of procedures for preventing a recurrence of the act. To the psychiatrist, however, discipline is associated with the process of getting children to do the right thing rather than of stopping them from doing the wrong. This means, for example, that the school must stimulate attentive behavior rather than seek means of coping with inattention; that teachers must make children want to come to school rather than attempt to curb truancy; that the teacher must begin the day's work promptly with an interesting activity such as reading aloud from an appealing book, instead of devising new procedures for correcting chronic tardiness. It is difficult, if not impossible, to dispense with negative discipline entirely, but the emphasis should be placed on positive suggestions.

Emphasis on Self-Direction. Discipline should stress self-direction and pupil-initiative rather than mechanical obedience to the teacher's will. Though the teacher should be the leader of the class, the pupils need not be merely blind followers with the sole duty of instant and unquestioning obedience. Blind obedience facilitates the execution of procedures within the classroom, but it does not improve the youngster's chances for satisfactory adjustment outside the school. Such adjustment demands that the child do more than merely obey. Only as the child is encouraged to coöperate in the conduct of the class because he sees the social basis for such conduct is he being prepared for life in a democracy. Where many so-called "self-government" schemes fail because they attach more weight to the "government" than to the "self," good discipline may accept or reject the trappings of such schemes provided that it keeps the more significant feature of self-direction for social purposes.

Encouragement of Group Responsibility and Coöperation. Contemporary schools place too high a premium on individual excellence and attach too little significance to the social virtues. Thus, children are asked to compete for individual honors rather than for group success. Merits and demerits are awarded for individual excellence or deficiencies. The school gives the impression that disorder affects only the child concerned and the teacher.

Where possible, discipline should be given a social tinge. This does not mean that the entire class is punished for the misdeeds of a few, but that the teacher will consciously strive to build up an *esprit de corps* as an effective stimulus to desirable modes of response and a strong deterrent of undesirable actions. At no time does the teacher act as though misconduct were an offense against her position or power; she objects to certain actions because they retard the progress of the group, interfere with the rights of other pupils, or give the class an undesirable reputation.

Appropriateness for the Pupil's Emotional and Intellectual

Level. Teachers are careful to adjust their disciplinary methods to their students' mental level, but they generally do not pay sufficient attention to the emotional and social level. With six-year-old children, the teacher can (although she shouldn't) ask the class to reveal the name of a malefactor, and her children will tell. Pre-adolescent boys, however, learning the lessons of loyalty to the gang, simply won't be informers. Similarly, high-school students, with adolescent pride in grown-up manners and clothing, should be made to feel that they are being treated as adults and not as children. High-school students should be reasoned with, rather than reprimanded. Thus, the teacher postpones sending for the high-school student's parents, so long as she can get desirable results by reasoning with the youth. However, the teacher in a coeducational high school often ignores the fact that girls mature earlier than boys do and that, though her pupils may all be of approximately the same age, she really has a class composed of boys and young women.

Two Criteria for Judging Disciplinary Procedures. The merit of disciplinary procedures is determined both by their efficacy in facilitating classroom routine and by their effect on children's personality. The teacher who regards disciplinary procedure as consisting of a set of proscriptions judges the effectiveness of her devices on the basis of apparent results. When a youngster asks a foolish question, she makes a sarcastic remark, and he asks no more foolish questions—or any other question for that matter. She considers her device successful. Is a youngster inattentive? Then she calls him by name, and if that fails, she gives him a demerit. He then keeps his eyes on her for the rest of the period, and the teacher is content. Her basis for judging her procedure is simple—too simple.

Mental hygiene asks, not merely whether the device achieves the immediate end, but whether the ultimate effect is healthful. It wants to know whether the teacher's sarcasm really helped the child who asked the irrelevant question. Was the inattentive pupil a better student after he was given the demerit? What did

he do a day later and a month later? Since these questions deal with traits not easily measured, there is no ready method whereby the teacher can judge the efficacy of her procedures as soon as they are applied. She is compelled to rely upon sound judgment, insight into children's personality, and a continued interest in the child.

Those whose knowledge of the school is based on their experiences as students and on the reports brought by children are apt to disregard the exigencies of the teaching situation. They are likely to belittle the importance attached by the teacher to such seemingly meaningless details as following a definite routine when going to the wardrobe for clothing at dismissal time. Though good discipline aims at developing the child's ability to guide his own activities, there is a practical necessity which demands that nothing be done which seriously interferes with the functioning of the class. The teacher is not caught between the horns of a dilemma. She need not choose between efficiency through repression of the individual and encouragement of self-guidance with group disorder. Good discipline must meet the demands of both the teacher and of the psychiatrist.

Treatment of Child, Not of Offense. Conduct disorders are ordinarily treated on a symptomatic basis. If the child is a truant, then the teacher must get him to come to school. When he does come and becomes disobedient, it is the teacher's job to make him obey her commands. Should he then turn to teasing the other youngsters about him, again the teacher's procedure ignores the fundamental problem.

Some students are disorderly because they have found it a certain way of making the teacher lose her temper. Thus the encounter between the two becomes of public interest. These youngsters enjoy the center of the stage and find their misconduct a useful device for winning the admiration of their classmates. The teacher who deals with such children by public reprimands and by depriving them of whatever chance there

may be of winning the group's approval through legitimate means, for example, monitorships, is not merely failing to correct the youngster's misbehavior, but is making later correction more difficult.

When a student does not respond to the usual appeals, the school should make a thorough study of the child before deciding on a course of action. The student who is chronically insolent because he works late each night, never has enough sleep, and is therefore irritable, must be treated differently from the child who is insolent because he is attending high school against his wishes and is defiant in the classroom since he dare not be so at home.

Investigation of each problem case will reveal many instances involving no emotional disorder whatsoever. The school may consider discourteous a mode of speech that the student's home considers perfectly acceptable. Similarly, a child may be a truant in order to earn some money to supplement a meager family income.

Most teachers apparently accept the principle that eliminating symptomatic manifestations will correct the basic maladjustment. Such a procedure has long been rejected by physicians as a means of curing physical ills. The physician is interested in the cause of all the symptoms rather than in the symptoms themselves. He prefers to attack that basic condition, knowing that correction there will result in the disappearance of the symptoms. Only when the basic condition defies analysis, or when the surface conditions are serious in themselves, does he give much consideration to them.

The teacher can well adapt the physician's technique to her own treatment of problem behavior. Thus the teacher must answer the questions, "Why does Thomas play truant so often?" "Why does Helen take her neighbors' pens?" "Why is Charles insolent?" before she can formulate any comprehensive plan for helping the readjustment of these children. The school cannot afford to ignore the symptoms of maladjustment—it

cannot, for example, allow Helen to go on stealing fountain pens until the teacher succeeds in removing the cause—but it cannot be satisfied with a series of palliatives that makes truants of the insolent youngsters or insolent youngsters of the truants. Though it may be sufficient for the minor violation of schoolroom decorum to mention the infraction of the rules and to let it go at that, for the more significant behavior mechanisms a genuine plan of treatment is necessary.[16] One prominent educator believes the greatest single contribution made by mental hygiene is its stress on the necessity for a thorough investigation of the background of the individual problem child before the teacher proceeds to relieve the fundamental causes of the child's conduct or behavior problem.

The following cases indicate how important it is for the teacher to know the child if she is to treat the youngster's problems adequately. In both instances cited, the immediate offenses committed by the pupils are similar, yet the differences in the background are so marked that they demand different treatment.

The first youngster, Jack, was brought to the principal's office one morning by a teacher who was passing by the school playground when the boy was beating a classmate almost into insensibility. There was little justification for the attack; the victim had merely refused to answer some inconsequential question asked by Jack.

The inquiry inaugurated by the principal revealed the following facts. Jack is a twelve-year-old pupil in the first half of the sixth grade, overage for his class although his mental level is normal, I.Q. 103. The overage condition was caused by a series of illnesses when he was six years old, with the result that he did not enter school till he was seven. His teachers report that his work and conduct are satisfactory, he has never lost a grade in school and is particularly proficient in history and geography. He excels in the games played during the health-education periods. The physical examination revealed no serious defects; Jack is well developed, slightly above the average for his age in both height and weight

In the course of an interview with Jack, the principal noted that the boy was alert, responding quickly and courteously to the various questions asked of him. The youngster is sociable and has a great many

[16] See Chapter V.

friends. He is a member of a neighborhood athletic and social club. He likes to play in the open air, being fond of baseball, handball and other seasonal games. Jack collects clippings on sports, especially those articles dealing with boxing matches. His likes and dislikes are ordinary; he likes "regular" boys and athletes and dislikes a sissy. The one fear he referred to constantly was that of being hit by an older boy or an adult.

Jack lives with his parents, an older brother, and a younger sister. The family is moderately well off and lives in an attractively furnished and well-managed home in a good neighborhood which has ample desirable recreational facilities. The mother is a sympathetic, peaceful woman, not readily moved to anger. The father is a hot-tempered man who is easily enraged. He considers his son a ne'er-do-well and enforces parental discipline by frequent severe beatings.

The complaint which led to Jack's being brought to the office is the only one that has ever been lodged against him by a teacher.

The second of two cases also refers to a pupil who assaulted another. Ira, however, has been a conduct problem for years. He has annoyed girls and fought with boys. Twice the boy has been caught stealing. He was brought to the office by a teacher who saw Ira hurl a knife at another pupil.

Ira is almost sixteen years old and is in a special class for dull-normal seventh-grade pupils. He has been retarded eight times and is now spending a second term in the same grade. His work is poor in all subjects. According to a recent intelligence test, his I.Q. is 80. The boy is undernourished and is definitely below normal in both height and weight.

The boy's environment is poor. The family, consisting of the parents and seven other children besides Ira, is poor both economically and socially. There are no recognizable methods of parental discipline. For fifteen months the mother has been in a hospital for medical treatment; neither Ira nor the mother showed any affection for the other or any interest in the other's state of affairs. The family lives in a neighborhood notorious for its high delinquency rate.

Ira is sullen in class. He has few friends and boasts of his being a lone wolf. He shows no interest in any member of his family and disclaims any affection for his parents. He explains that he does not care for school and attends merely because he is compelled to.

As the teacher examines the cases which have just been presented, she sees the futility of treating the two pupils in the same manner. The specific offense is almost the least signifi-

cant item in the history. It is obvious that it is not the assault, but the boy, that should be treated and that the direction of the remedial program will be influenced far more by the backgrounds of these two boys than by the overt manifestations of their difficulties. In Jack's case, several factors indicate the course of the remedial program. The beatings by the father and the fact that the boy has always had smaller children as his classmates indicate a possible cause for his hitting other children. Though there have been no complaints against him other than the one which led to his being brought to the principal, inquiry revealed that several teachers had seen him lose his temper on previous occasions and had seen him hit other pupils, though he had never seriously injured any child. His interest in boxing offers both an additional clue to the understanding of his outburst and an avenue for sublimation. The attitudes of the boy and his family suggest the likelihood of gaining their coöperation in a program of reëducation.

On the other hand, almost every factor in Ira's background makes the teacher pessimistic about the possibilities of the school's curing the child. The boy's problem is of long standing; its causes lie below the surface. A modification of the school environment certainly will not suffice to assure the boy's lasting readjustment. Ordinarily the school merely asks such a pupil to leave and to go to work; this step releases the boy from all organized supervision until the police and the courts take him in custody. It is wiser to change his environment before he commits a serious criminal offense. For such youngsters, a carefully selected foster home, medical supervision, trade training, supervised recreation, and careful follow-up work are advisable. The best the teacher can do for Ira is to see that he is referred to those social agencies which have the authority and the ability to care for this kind of case.

However, both Ira and Jack need more than punishment. Is there any disciplinary measure that is adequate for preventing the recurrence of the same offense or the commission of a more

serious one? Only when the school is ready and competent to study and to treat the individual problem child, can it succeed in improving his possibilities for a healthy emotional life.

THE BASIS OF CLASSROOM CONTROL

Order as Preparation for Discipline. Discipline and order are two fairly distinct bases of classroom control that attempt to reach the same goal by different routes. Discipline is based on self-direction, whereas order is founded on instant obedience to commands emanating from above. Discipline is maintained by building habits of self-control and by stressing the social need for good conduct, while order rests with the teacher's ability to exercise constant surveillance and to use the pupils' fear of detection as a deterrent to undesirable action. Discipline seeks a self-directed class that works efficiently even though the teacher is temporarily too busy to supervise the class, while order reaches its height when the teacher makes the meaningless boast that she can hear a pin drop. One doesn't hear pins dropping in a well-disciplined class, for an active class is rarely a silent one, and both teacher and class are far too busy and sane to go about dropping pins.

It would therefore appear that order has no place in the room of a teacher who is sympathetic with the aims of mental hygiene. For this reason, those who are mental hygienists but not teachers usually speak disparagingly of the strict disciplinarian. From the classroom point of view, however, order has a legitimate place as an aid to discipline. Order must be regarded merely as a means to the end, discipline. As a goal, order has little justification; as a means toward discipline, it is essential.

In traditional schools, children have become so accustomed to the teacher as commander that they look with suspicion or even disfavor upon the teacher who suddenly and completely disregards the convention. One substitute teacher was called on short notice to take the class of a teacher who was ill. When

she entered the room, she found the children sitting with their hands behind backs in the traditional posture of the old school. With a pretty little speech, she informed her children that it would not be necessary for them to sit in so unnatural and uncomfortable a position. She then gave them permission to leave their seats, whenever necessary, to go to the wardrobe, waste-basket, etc. She planned then—but there was no need for further planning. The children, impressed by the unorthodox procedure of the newcomer, decided that she wasn't really a "teacher." "Teachers" didn't permit you to sit with your hands before you; "teachers" didn't permit you to leave your seat; "teachers" didn't. . . . When she attempted to bring them back to a more normal state, it was only with considerable difficulty that she succeeded. A week later she repeated her ventures in the direction of discipline, but more slowly, more cautiously, and more successfully.

Wholesome Procedures for Securing and Maintaining Order. The teacher is apt to protest that the psychiatrist sees school discipline from so great a distance that he is not aware of the special problems she must solve. She is displeased, too, by the vagueness of his proposals and by his apparent readiness to object to procedures she considers essential. The mental hygienist is not a carping critic or an impractical theorist. He knows that there are many praiseworthy practices which have been developed by experienced teachers and that the classroom of even the sternest disciplinarian can be conducted with a view to its healthful influence on pupils' emotional development. Let us assume that a newly appointed teacher bluntly asks the psychiatrist the pertinent question, "How can I, with my limited experience, secure and maintain order without resorting to procedures I have seen other teachers use, but which you consider objectionable?" Fully appreciating that his answer is suggestive rather than prescriptive, that teachers will recognize the necessity for flexibility in methodology, and that procedures

which are justifiable in one situation are unsatisfactory in another, the psychiatrist can offer the following suggestions he has seen used successfully by many teachers.

1. Give students the impression that you expect only perfect order. The calm teacher who goes about her duties quietly usually has better control of her class than the panicky teacher who shouts commands, pushes children into their seats, and flutters about the room trying to be everywhere at once. The teacher must take good order for granted and give children the impression that there is no alternative to good conduct. Thus she announces the assignment as though she knows the home work will be done and avoids such expressions as, "The first one who fails to do his home work . . ." or "I'd like to see the fellow who doesn't do his home work on time."

The voice should be subdued, but audible enough to be heard clearly throughout the room. This makes it necessary for the children to pay attention in order to hear, conserves the throat, reserves the loud voice for use in an emergency, and tends to arouse a feeling of reserve in the class. The teacher who is constantly shouting commands and reprimands sets the tone for a classroom that is tense and uninspiring.

2. Learn the names of all pupils as soon as possible. Anonymity protects disorder. The teacher who says, "You, stand. No, not you, the one next to you . . ." or "You near the window" is virtually announcing to the class that she knows no one and that it is therefore safe to commit a misdeed and to let the blame be absorbed in a vague way by the whole class. A seating plan is indispensable, especially at the beginning of the term and in high schools where the teacher meets many different students daily. Many high-school teachers assign some written work the first period of the new term. Then, while they walk about the room ostensibly criticizing the work being done, they write a seating plan. A class is impressed by a teacher who soon knows the students' names. No longer can a student be disorderly with impunity.

3. Accustom pupils to the faithful execution of commands. A command should not be repeated for individual students, since such a procedure gives the impression that a youngster need not obey a command the first time it is made. When a teacher asks her class to stand for dismissal and then sees several children who have not yet obeyed her request, it weakens her position to say, "George, stand; Mabel, stand." She must assume that, her commands having been given, she need merely call the pupil's name to assure obedience. Thus it is preferable, in this situation to say, "Class, stand! George . . .; Mabel. . . ."

The command must be phrased so that it can be obeyed. The teacher who asks her class to complete an unconscionably long assignment in an unreasonably short time is accustoming her class to interpret rather than to obey her commands. It is futile to give a command that will certainly be disobeyed. When the score is tied and the pinch-hitter comes to bat in the ninth inning, children will not obey a command to be silent. If quiet is essential because of the proximity of other classes, the teacher should have less exciting games, should have the children play elsewhere, or should explain the situation to the class and show the need for unusual self-control.

A preparatory statement reduces the occasion for disobedience. Children should be given an opportunity to put loose papers away before they are asked to stand for their health-education period. Either a simple preparatory command like, "Class [pause], stand!" or a statement, "These books will be collected in two minutes," will reduce the amount of disobedience of the teacher's commands.

4. Keep the machinery of class management simple. It is unnecessary to make the process of standing something so complex that a fourfold command is necessary. So, too, the passing and the collection of paper and other supplies should be kept simple. The more complex the machinery, the more opportunities there are for disobedience, and the more conduct problems the teacher will have.

Effective classroom routine reduces the incidence of disorder at the known danger points; for example, the collection and distribution of books, and the dismissal at the end of a period. With forethought, the teacher can mechanize such operations and reduce the confusion that starts disorder.

5. Keep the class occupied. Conduct problems frequently arise at those times when children are sitting about idly or when some have finished while others are still at work. The daily program must be planned in detail with special care taken to see that there is no delay in starting work at the beginning of the period. Where the work is departmentalized and the class reports to a new teacher every period, the young teacher must plan to start work with the bell. The assignment for the next day or a short written quiz is preferable to starting the period with an activity like the inspection of home work, which leaves most of the children unoccupied.

When the teacher wishes to let the class relax, such a letdown should come during the period rather than between one period and the next. Such an exercise as "Examine the pictures in your history book to see whether there are any which show us how people lived in Washington's days" is typical of class exercises which permit relaxation without disorder.

6. Use rewards and punishments judiciously.[17] The teacher must be as ready to reward good conduct as she is to punish bad. She will find children responding to praise by repeating that type of behavior. An effective plan of classroom control will therefore watch for and reward children's desirable actions since such procedure is both pleasant and effective.

To punish one student severely as an example to the rest of the class is unjust to the youngster and destroys the mutual respect of teacher and child that should be the basis of class control. When a child is punished, a door must be left open by which he may return to the teacher's good graces. To punish

[17] See Chapters XII and XIII for a fuller treatment of rewards and punishments.

him so severely that he feels he can never regain his place in the class is to induce him to do his worst.

Severe penalties should not be used for minor offenses. This is sometimes done by teachers who hope in this way to dissuade their pupils from attempting anything really serious. One teacher gave a child a conduct mark of "D" (the lowest possible grade) for the month when he was late for school the first day of the term. Having exhausted what should have been her most severe penalty, what does the teacher have in reserve if he were to decide to play truant for the month? Moreover, what reason does a youngster have to do the work assigned to him thereafter once he has been assured a failing mark? The teacher must never give the impression that she has exhausted her supply of punishments or rewards. There must always be at least one thing more that she can do. To admit that she is at the end of her resources is to court trouble.

Children should rarely be sent to the principal's office for disciplinary treatment. To do so is to confess failure, both to the principal and to the class. This procedure is reserved for cases where the teacher believes that the treatment should be in the hands of a more experienced person.

7. Avoid punishing in anger. A teacher's sense of value is distorted when her temper is aroused, and the punishment meted out is likely to be out of proportion to the culpability of the offender and the seriousness of the offense. Moreover, children are prone to use the teacher's anger as an excuse for a misdeed and to explain to their parents that "teacher got sore and made me go to the office," making no mention of the actions that preceded the teacher's loss of temper. The teacher's temper tantrum is undesirable because it indicates her own inadequate emotional adjustment and because it offers an undesirable model for imitation.

When judging and dealing with misconduct, one must allow for mitigating circumstances. Tardiness is not always the child's fault. One youngster held the regular job of furnace tender for

a row of private houses and then ran home to dress for school. Any unusual delay in more than one house was enough to make him late for school. Punishing such a child blindly does not help to improve conditions.

8. Don't make a threat. Threats are generally uttered in the heat of anger or exasperation and usually are rather difficult to justify after the teacher has recovered her calm. Threats have a way of working out in a contrary manner. The teacher who says: "The next one who talks, I don't care why, will have to go to the office," little expects her star pupil to be the first offender and to have a perfectly legitimate reason for violating her injunction. Children seem to work up an immunity to threats so that stronger and stronger ones are necessary until the teacher is heard to utter threats strong enough to make even the bravest of men quake with fear, but the class sits by calmly, confident that nothing will come of them. However, once a threat is made, it is imperative that the teacher live up to it. Threats not carried out lessen the teacher's prestige and encourage disorder. This need for executing all threats should in itself deter teachers from making them.

9. Avoid forcing an issue before the class. Every time the teacher loses a public encounter with a student, she forfeits part of the respect the class has for her. It is the better part of valor for the teacher to realize that she cannot force a child to do something he does not wish to do. The stubborn child must be treated tactfully. Much better results can be obtained by waiting until the heat of his anger has passed before the teacher talks with him. It is difficult to decide which is worse, the teacher who habitually loses the issues forced before the class or the one who succeeds in "breaking the will" of her stubborn students.

The teacher ordinarily finds it advisable to discuss the child's misconduct when they are alone. The presence of a class provides an audience whose approval is desired by the pupil. Unwilling to admit publicly that he was wrong and that the teacher was right, the child stubbornly defends his own course of action.

The resulting discussion tends to be humiliating to the teacher, the pupil, or both. When the conversation is private and not public, there is greater likelihood that the teacher will succeed in discovering the cause of the child's misconduct and in convincing him that his actions hurt the pupil and his classmates.

10. Good teaching is an excellent means of getting and maintaining order. All experienced teachers know that inattention and disorder are prevalent when the lesson is dull and uninteresting. Preventing disorder by careful gradation and motivation of the lesson is easier than attempting to correct the disorder that has already resulted from a poor lesson.

The Transition from Order to Discipline. Why should a teacher who has secured order and whose class work is proceeding smoothly change from order to discipline and risk losing the control she has labored to attain? The answer is found in the limitations of order as a permanent basis for classroom control. Order is a non-intelligent plan of behavior almost entirely unfitted to help children shoulder the responsibility they will later find in life. Classroom control must be changed till it reaches the stage where student participation is less artificial, where control is based on a more solid foundation than fear and constant surveillance. Discipline should be founded on understanding of social relations, on good habits and attitudes, and on the teacher's influence. It should be maintained by habit, not by fear. Its chief characteristic is the pupils' self-direction. Both teacher and class share in the responsibility of running the class, and mutual understanding and respect replace fear. The child's individuality receives more emphasis, for the whole basis of school work is now the child's realization of the necessity for coöperation in the conduct of the class.

The shift from order to discipline should come as soon as order has been firmly established. An experienced teacher can start the transition at the beginning of the term although, in a school where discipline is the exception rather than the rule, it is sometimes preferable to introduce it gradually. The shift

should be governed by the children's ability to shoulder responsibility. It can be initiated by giving them a little extra freedom at first. For example, the teacher may explain that, the members of the class having shown themselves trustworthy, they need no longer ask the teacher's permission to deposit paper in the waste-basket. At the end of the day, the teacher comments on the way in which they have used the new freedom and extends another privilege to them. This process continues until they have been brought to the level where it is no longer necessary for the teacher to be primarily a policeman and a magistrate. For a successful change from order to discipline the early privileges should be selected so that the possibilities of abuse are few.

The ability to bear responsibility is acquired, not innate. The school must therefore grade and motivate the steps leading from order to discipline even more carefully than it does the lessons in the subject-matter skills that take up so much of the day. Children cannot be taught this ability merely by the lecture method; practice is essential. The child must have the opportunity of *choosing* the right action when the wrong one is available, if the teacher is to develop the habit of his choosing that particular right action. After the student has made the choice, the school must see that the right action is more satisfying than the wrong one.

The metaphor of the "straight and narrow" path has done much to distort the school's attitude toward character training. Even the analogy is a false one. If we came to a fork in the road, which road would we choose? One of them is straight and narrow, full of obstacles to smooth progress. As soon as we climb over one of them, we are confronted immediately by another. The other road is a primrose path, with pretty flowers and sweet temptations all along the route. Which would we choose? The school tries to teach children to choose the right action after giving them the impression that only the wrong one is pleasant, the right action giving the satisfaction of a choice well made,

a satisfaction that is above the ethical level of most young children.

The experienced teacher can permit children the essential freedom of choice and yet persuade them to choose the right alternative and to feel genuinely satisfied with the selection. The approval of the teacher and of one's classmates is a satisfying reward for a given response. When the teacher begins the shift to discipline, the first privilege is a simple one. Although children have the alternative of going to the waste-basket at all times of the day, that privilege is not so attractive that they are likely to abuse it. Should they do so, a few minutes of discussion with the class will help the pupils to reach the conclusion that there are times when they ought to save waste paper and dispose of it later. The praise given by the teacher (in which she refers to the way in which they have taken the new responsibility and to the way in which the class as a whole is superior to other classes) tends to make the right response more satisfying than is the wrong action with its comparatively mild reward of going to the basket while the others are at work. Each successive right choice tends to attach more pleasure to succeeding right choices, for the child has learned to delight in the praise of the group and in the growing feeling that he is becoming more and more a respected member of that group.

The teacher should encourage this feeling that the class of which the youngster is a member is one to be proud of. Many teachers apparently try to give just the other impression. How often children are told, "My last term's class never did a thing like this." Visitors are frequently greeted with such comments as, "Come in if you want to, but you must remember that this class is not as bright as the one I had the last time you were here." It is obviously impossible for the present class always to be worse than the preceding one. The teacher who has a new class of the same grade as the old one forgets that she had six months to learn the background of the former class and that it is foolish to expect her new class to remember what she told

not to them but to her preceding class. She is also likely to forget that at the end of the term her former class was six months older and six months more developed than is her new class.

The thrill and the satisfaction of belonging to a praiseworthy group is too valuable a motivating force to be ignored. The teacher who is constantly harping on the inferiority of her present class is apt to persuade the pupils that they really do not deserve her respect and is thus tending to interfere with the development of that feeling of self-respect and worth-whileness that is basic to sound emotional adjustment.

The teacher who is interested in the emotional adjustment of her pupils must evaluate her disciplinary procedures periodically because proper control improves youngsters' emotional health by preventing many of the class situations that give rise to conflict. Wholesome discipline stimulates the child's ability to share responsibility and to solve problems as they arise. It leads him to believe in his own worth as an individual and as a member of a respected and respecting group.

Problems for Study and Discussion

1. A principal was boasting of the ingenuity displayed by one of his teachers who was assigned to a difficult fifth-year class. On days when the classwork proceeded smoothly and there were few instances of misconduct, the teacher spent the half hour before dismissal entertaining his class with various feats of legerdemain.

One day he omitted the performance and explained that there would be no more of them because several pupils in the class were misbehaving. He then announced the names of the malefactors and said that it was up to the class to "take care of" the boys who were depriving the others of their entertainment. That afternoon, these boys were severely beaten by their classmates.

"That," said the principal, "is an instance of the best kind of discipline."

"You mean it is an instance of the worst kind of discipline," objected one of the teachers in his audience.

Who was right, the principal or his critic?

2. The principal of a metropolitan high school learns that there have been several thefts of chemical apparatus and supplies. An investigation discloses that two seniors have been stealing the materials

in order to equip a private laboratory at home. There they have been conducting little experiments of their own. None of the material was resold. The boys are good students whose records in both scholarship and conduct are well above the average.

What should the principal do?

3. A third-grade pupil who thinks he has been retarded unjustly proceeds to make a nuisance of himself by showing off the little he does know. He calls out the answers to the teacher's questions and interrupts other pupils in order to answer the question himself. The boy is dull and is not ready to do the work of the next grade.

What should the teacher do?

4. What can the teacher do to improve the personal adjustments of Philip, the boy who was described in the text as illustrative of the youngster who is a behavior problem but not a conduct problem?

5. How does the stern disciplinarian interfere with the child's feeling of security? How does the lax disciplinarian interfere with the child's feeling of security? Why do so many children remain well balanced emotionally?

6. Why do parents and teachers differ in their evaluation of the seriousness of various behavior traits? Who is right?

7. What is the difference between the feeling of security and that of smugness or complacency?

8. Why is it undesirable for the teacher simply to adopt the psychiatrist's evaluation of conduct disorders?

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XII

THE USE OF INCENTIVES

MENTAL hygiene is interested in the incentives used in the classroom because it appreciates their influence in the development of children's personality. Thus, a school which stresses individual competition and individual success will develop a different kind of pupil from the one encouraged by a second school that emphasizes group responsibility for group success.

REAL VERSUS ARTIFICIAL MOTIVATION

The true interpretation of *motivation* is quite different from that usually indicated by the term. Motivation, in education, is that aspect of a task that gives purpose and direction to the learning process. It is *part* of the task, not an added frill with little relationship to the task itself. Motivation is not something added to make a disagreeable job a little less unpleasant. That it seems to be irrelevant or immaterial to the lesson itself indicates an inappropriate curriculum or the teacher's failure to make the material as significant to her students as it apparently is to her or to the group that constructed the curriculum.

Motivation is considered *intrinsic* when the appeal arises from the task itself, its value, its significance, or its applications. This is the sort of motivation used when the class studies the geography of the Tennessee Valley to see why the government is developing power plants there, or when it learns to compute interest in order to discover whether the school will profit by investing a scholarship fund in government securities rather than depositing the money in a savings bank.

Intrinsic motivation is desirable because it stresses the importance of the task. It is the kind of motivation the child will encounter outside the school when he must learn to complete an undertaking because it has value rather than because he will receive a high grade. It is a more intelligent basis of appeal since it grows out of the learner's own recognition of the need for greater effort and because it permits him to choose the procedure and determine the rate at which he will work. Motivation also counteracts the excessive individualism of many contemporary schools and substitutes therefor social interest in a group undertaking.

The traditional attitude toward motivation is hardly justifiable. It views motivation as something that is necessary because the school tasks are inherently uninteresting. Educators insist that motivation is not "sugar coating," yet the "motivations" seen in classrooms do appear to be appendages to lessons that would be complete without them. Professors of methodology are often asked by student teachers, "How do you motivate the geography of Poland?" or "How do you motivate the division of a decimal by a decimal?" the implication being that each of these lessons has a distinct type of motivation and that there is a special introduction that can be used with any lesson on a given topic. No formula is guaranteed to interest children in Poland's geography. If the geography of Poland really plays a part in the child's life, it is the teacher's duty to make that relationship the keynote of the lesson rather than a mere introduction.

The motivation that is tacked on to the lesson is not really an incentive to learning. After the introduction has been completed, the class is still confronted with a task that is foreign to its interests or it has been tricked into learning a lesson without the satisfaction of knowing that it has been engaged in a worthwhile undertaking. Too often the lesson resembles a talk in the auditorium where the visiting speaker feels bound to begin by relating a humorous anecdote. The audience awaits the story that starts, "As I was sitting here listening to the kind words of

your chairman, I was reminded of the time . . ." The story being disposed of, both speaker and listener settle back into the usual attitude, both ignoring the story that could easily have been omitted without detracting from the unity of the address. One teacher introduced a lesson by asking, "How many of you have ever been up in a dirigible? How do you think you would feel on your first trip?" The class then proceeded to the regular lesson on the products of the South Central States, teacher and pupils soon forgetting the imaginary air trip—that is, all except one girl who was later reprimanded for being inattentive.

Spurious motivation tends to divert attention from the important elements of the lesson inasmuch as the teacher frequently emphasizes a trivial but entertaining phase of the lesson. One music teacher attempted to stimulate children's appreciation of Haydn's Surprise Symphony by telling them of the courtier who fell asleep during the music and of the way the composer introduced loud chords at intervals in order to wake the fellow up. All they remembered of the music was the loud noise. Despite the practices of some modern composers, music is more than a succession of sudden loud noises.

All who look back upon their own school-days recall unusual experiments in the science class or humorous anecdotes of the history class without a very clear notion of what it was that the teacher was trying to illustrate. It may sometimes be necessary to introduce minutiae in order to make a scene or a lesson more vivid, but the teacher must recognize the danger that the child may remember only the inconsequential details. The motivation should therefore arise from the significant aspects of the lesson, rather than from one of its minor details.

The traditional attitude is predicated on the principle that each lesson is a unit in itself. For this reason, the teacher attempts to arouse so much interest in the particular lesson that the children will bring to it all the enthusiasm at their command. Motivation as intense as all this robs the school-day of continuity and makes the room as tense as the factory where

each operator performs one operation when the conveyor belt brings the material to him. Efficiency is desirable, but not to the extent where it turns children into high-speed workers operating at full speed throughout the day. This conception of motivation violates child psychology in that it assumes that the child is intensely interested in arithmetic from 9:00 to 9:30, after which he is fascinated by the spelling of six words, but only until 9:50, when he is suddenly extremely curious about the industries of Canada. Such a high-powered mode of motivation is necessary only when the curriculum is out of touch with the child's present life.

There should be periods where the pace is not as rapid. A more vital type of motivation gives significance to the task without forcing all children to work at the same uniform high speed. There are many periods when the extreme type of motivation is unnecessary, since the whole day's work is purposeful, and the teacher can rely upon the desire to accomplish meaningful work to carry the child through the less spectacular periods. Otherwise the teacher often wanders far afield to find the "necessary molasses to mix with the oats." Just how can one motivate a particular spelling lesson based on words habitually misspelled by the children of the class if all the spelling lessons of the class are based on words selected according to the same criterion? Is it not preferable to motivate spelling in general by showing children the vital criterion by which the words are selected, by demonstrating the greater efficiency of the study methods followed in class, and by aiding children to measure the improvement they are making? This momentum is sufficient motivation for particular lessons in the unit.

Extrinsic motivation should be resorted to only when intrinsic motivation is too far above the level of the class, or for some other reason is difficult of application. It should certainly not be the first choice of motive.

At times, extrinsic motivation is the only incentive available to the teacher. Children do not understand the difference be-

tween "learning" and "overlearning" and ignore the law of forgetting. To get the attentive repetition essential for retention or for an automatic response, the teacher may have to introduce some game or other extrinsic device, but this type of incentive should be subordinated to intrinsic drives wherever possible.

Even extrinsic motivation is preferable to punishment or to the fear of punishment as the basis for pupil participation in learning activities. If the teacher is to attempt positive appeals before resorting to punishment, then she must use a number of extrinsic incentives for those situations in which children's self-control or responsiveness to a rational appeal is inadequate.

EXPERIMENTAL STUDIES OF INCENTIVES[1]

There have been many attempts to determine experimentally the relative efficacy of different incentives. Psychologists have concerned themselves more with incentives than with motives because of the greater ease with which incentives can be measured objectively.[2] Promising though these investigations are in their attempt to supply a body of facts to guide educators, most of these studies are inadequate from the standpoint of the classroom teacher.

Psychologists agree that the results of an experiment can be

[1] The results found by various investigators are included in a later section of this chapter in connection with the various incentives discussed there.

[2] Bills epitomizes the psychological standpoint: "It is necessary to distinguish between motive and incentive. Properly speaking, an incentive is some environmental object or condition, the attainment or avoidance of which motivates the individual in his behavior. The motive, on the other hand, is the condition or set of the organism directing and energizing it toward a specific line of conduct. Motives are complex, variable, and difficult to isolate However, particular incentives may be systematically experimented with, and such studies have been directed to the following special factors· (1) reward and punishment, (2) praise and blame, or encouragement and discouragement, or positive versus negative instructions; (3) knowledge of one's previous record; (4) attitudes of success and failure; (5) competition and rivalry, and (6) social facilitation where rivalry is not explicit."—A. G. Bills, *General Experimental Psychology* (New York, Longmans, Green and Co , 1934), pp. 258–259.

applied to another situation only to the extent that the governing conditions are similar. The difference between the usual classroom environment and that found in a laboratory experiment therefore limits the degree to which the teacher can accept the results. Even when the teacher conducts a study in a school setting and keeps the children ignorant of the investigation while it is in progress, she cannot help becoming more interested and more conscientious than she would otherwise be. These factors will affect the results as will her unintentional bias. The experiment ordinarily lasts a comparatively short time; it is questionable whether these incentives are equally effective when the average teacher applies them in a routine manner over a longer period of time. When the experiment is conducted in a laboratory, the absence of the classroom environment is a marked limitation. The process of tracing mazes is so different from that of learning dates in history that one cannot assume given incentives to be equally valid in both situations. The incentives themselves are sometimes inappropriate for the classroom, regardless of how effective they may be. Thus electric shocks, monetary rewards, and chocolate bars simply cannot be used in the traditional school.

Studies of incentives ordinarily measure such traits as the speed or accuracy with which the child learns to perform arithmetic operations and not the attitudes the child is developing. Though the teacher is interested in the effects of different incentives on the learning of facts and skills, she cannot ignore their influence on children's attitudes. Thus, investigators find that some children learn more efficiently when they compete directly as individuals with other individuals than when they compete as members of a group trying to surpass another group. Yet the teacher questions the desirability of such keen individual rivalry. In the absence of experimental evidence relative to the effect of different incentives on concomitant learning, the teacher must rely on her own insight and experience for their evaluation.

One cannot determine experimentally whether one incentive is superior to another; all that can be measured is whether a stated amount of one incentive is more effective than a given amount of a second incentive. It therefore becomes all important that the amounts be standardized—an almost impossible undertaking.

If one thinks of an experiment in which the child receives an electric shock every time he gives the wrong response and a monetary reward every time he answers correctly, it is easy to see how the strength of the electric shock and the value of the coin affect the results. The investigator can use an electric shock that is barely noticed by the subject, or he can increase the charge until the subject is stunned temporarily. Similarly, he can use monetary rewards as low as a tenth of a cent or he can give the child ten cents for each correct response. Obviously, no single experiment can tell us whether electric shocks or monetary rewards are more effective incentives. All the investigator can do is to determine whether a shock of a given intensity is more or less effective than a given monetary token. In the typical praise-reproof experiment, one group is praised for its success while the other is censured for its failure. The investigator apparently assumes that both commendation and censure have only one degree, and that one form of praise is as effective as another. Would the results be different if both the praise and the reprimand were worded and administered differently? Since even the same words uttered by two teachers are not equally potent in both cases, the teacher who is eager to apply the results of controlled experimentation is left without guidance concerning the amount of the incentive to be used.

When the results of an experiment are measured by comparing the averages of two groups, the reader gets the impression that if the first average is higher than the second, then every member of the first group is superior to every member of the second group. It is possible for incentive A to be more effective than incentive B so far as the average of the two groups is con-

cerned, even though for many children incentive B is more potent. Thus one of Thorndike's experiments tended to show that a response called "correct" was repeated 26 per cent more than would be expected merely by chance, whereas a response called "incorrect" was reduced only 3 per cent more than mere chance would cause.[3] The conclusion is therefore drawn that saying "right" is more effective in strengthening an association than saying "wrong" is in weakening an association. For the psychologist interested in discovering the fundamental laws of mental life, this is a valid method of arriving at a conclusion. The teacher, however, must have additional information. Is this conclusion equally correct for all children? Is it equally true of all types of learning? Here again the teacher must select from the investigational literature that part which aids her in teaching not the average child but the individual personalities constituting her class.

Frequently, the experiment is conducted with so small a group and for so short a time that the results are inconclusive. The educator asks whether the differences found are statistically significant, whether they can be explained as the results of chance, and whether the results are equally true with different groups. The teacher needs more investigations to guide him, but only those that see all aspects of the problem, that are applicable to the classroom, and that are conclusive.

At present, available psychological evidence justifies the following conclusions: Mechanical repetition without attention is an ineffective learning procedure. The use of incentives increases the efficiency of the learning process. It is more effective to attach a positive satisfier to the correct response than to attach an annoying result to the incorrect response. Knowledge of success is an effective stimulant to learning. Material rewards are effective even though they may be undesirable from the standpoint of their influence on the children's ethical standards.

[3] E. L. Thorndike, *Human Learning* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1931), p. 41.

Competition between two groups is an incentive to learning, but competition between two individuals is even more effective. Commendation is reported to be more effective than censure and reprimands.

Sound though these procedures may be psychologically, they require modification before they can be applied in the classroom. We therefore turn to the criteria that are used when the teacher evaluates an incentive.

THE CLASSROOM USE OF INCENTIVES

The most desirable incentive in school is one which makes the task significant to the pupils. A lesson that makes students want to read poetry because they enjoy it is preferable to the lesson that has them read the poems in order to see whether they can get higher marks on the final examination than another class gets. A really good incentive does more than merely make the pupil willing to learn; it makes him eager to learn and sets in motion a drive whose influence extends beyond a single period. Since learning is an active process, true motivation makes students participants in the lesson and not mere spectators.

Not only must an incentive get children to participate in an activity they consider significant, but it should make such participation satisfying. Though adults can think in terms of a postponed reward—parents will deprive themselves of comforts to set up a college fund for their infant—the child wants his in the present or in the immediate future. The teacher who attempts to interest children in the study of grammar by showing them how it will help them when they study a foreign language later, discovers that the appeal soon loses its force. To show them how a knowledge of grammar improves their speech and written composition is more effective. For most children the reward must come even sooner. These children want to get the higher mark, the gold star, the praise, during the same lesson

or even immediately after they have made the proper response.

The school should encourage the social point of view in its attempts to motivate the day's work. As he grows older, the youngster becomes more sensitive to group standards; the teacher should therefore use social appeals and interpret responsibility in terms of both the individual and the group. The use of the project method is noteworthy in this connection. Group responsibility takes some of the sting out of individual failure and also tames the braggart who is so convinced of his own worth that he deems it unnecessary to work with others. Lessons in coöperation are best learned in action. Schools which stress group activities—and most of the progressive schools are distinctive in this respect—are agreed that children can be just as industrious for the success of the group as they are for the more selfish motives that are now the basis of traditional school learning.

Incentives are judged not merely by their immediate effect on children's reactions, but by their ultimate influence on emotional health and personality development. Incentives that lead to too great a strain, that are too intense, that have such undesirable concomitants as cheating, tattling, or refusal to assist other children, are undesirable even though they may satisfy the other criteria referred to above.

The Motives to Which the Teacher Can Appeal. Any attempt to classify incentives under various motives necessarily smacks of the academic. The teacher who praises her class is concerned with immediate and ultimate effects; she does not care whether commendation is considered a means of pleasing the student's vanity, a form of social approval, or a reward. Yet such a classification of incentives facilitates a discussion of their merits and their applications.

There are at least six major motives to which the teacher can appeal: the desire to do the right for its own sake, the desire for self-respect, the desire to win the approval of one's peers, the desire to gain the approval of the teacher or of one's parents,

the desire for new experiences, and the desire to win a reward.

Though there is disagreement regarding the ethical order in which the intermediate motives should be arranged, the consensus of opinion views the first as the highest of all and the sixth as the lowest. At all times the school should appeal to the highest motive to which the child can respond and then educate the child to respond on a higher level than that on which his present behavior is conducted. A habit of action that is initiated on a low level—for example, social approval and disapproval lead the youngster to disdain "telling tales" on other members of his gang—may be perpetuated on a higher level as illustrated by the boy who refuses to act as an informer because that would mean betraying a confidence.

The highest level, performing the right action solely because the child knows it to be the right thing to do, is frequently far above his level of response and is for that reason not a potent motive. The efficacy of this appeal can be increased by direct character education when the child reacts undesirably merely because he does not know that it is the wrong way of behaving. Thus a child has to be taught that it is discourteous to interrupt a pupil who is reciting. Beyond a certain point, however, knowledge of the right does not guarantee right action.

Though this level of appeal is too high for most children, nevertheless it represents a goal toward which both teacher and pupil must strive. Wherever possible, this basis of action should be substituted for the lower ones; for example, the pupil is brought to the realization that home-work assignments are given because of individual need and that it is therefore unwise to copy another's work even when one can escape undetected. At first, this appeal will be effective with relatively few phases of the child's life. Yet this motive is sufficiently worth while to justify its use, though perhaps only occasionally, as an entering wedge for the eventual widening of its appeal. The procedure suggested in the preceding chapter[4] indicates the

[4] See "Transition from Order to Discipline," pp. 279–282.

method of using this appeal and making it a more effective one, even in the case of young children.

In the secondary school, this should be the basic motive. There, good discipline should be maintained by appealing to reason and to habits of self-control. The other motives cannot be dispensed with, but they should be relegated to a minor position.

The desire to gain self-respect is a desirable and potent incentive inadequately used by the school. Both children and adults often spend considerable time on a task that has significance to them, even though the utility of the achievement is slight and the possibility of social approval remote. How often do we find ourselves completing the reading of a novel in which we have lost interest, for no other reason than that we dislike leaving a book unfinished? Examine the lengths to which people go in order to justify their actions to themselves, their half-believed rationalizations for example. People do want to think well of themselves. How can this motive be used effectively in our schools?

Experimental verification is available for the hypothesis that knowledge of success accelerates the rate of learning. Experimentation with sixth-grade children [5] revealed that practice with no knowledge of results was inferior to equivalent practice where children learned each day whether they had done well or poorly the preceding day. T. J. Kirby,[6] using fourth-grade pupils, informed each pupil of his absolute improvement in measured tests in addition. He reported that sixty minutes of drill resulted in an improvement of approximately 50 per cent in speed with only a negligible loss in accuracy. Likewise, Thorn-

[5] E. B. Hurlock, "An Evaluation of Certain Incentives Used in School Work," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (March, 1925), pp. 145–159

[6] T. J. Kirby, *Practice in the Case of School Children*, Contributions to Education, No. 58 (New York, Division of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1913), p. 34.

dike[7] found that saying "Right" strengthened an association more than mere repetition did.

Children should therefore be informed of their success. Written exercises ought to be marked and returned promptly, even though this necessitates a sharp reduction in the number of such exercises. Commendation should follow an improvement in the child's conduct or behavior. By the use of graphs, the youngster's progress in his school work can be made apparent to him. It is sometimes fruitful to let the children see the papers they turned in several months back so that they may note the improvement. For this purpose, it is advisable to use individual folders in which the child keeps such exercises as composition papers and drawing plates.

The child's pride in himself is fostered by moderate praise given as deserved. "Breaking the child's will" is a dangerous remedy for misconduct. More is to be gained by commending his growing maturity. Thus, one junior high-school teacher, confronted by a sudden wave of gum chewing in class, took an early opportunity to relate to the class some of his experiences as an elementary-school teacher. He tried to convey the impression that the present class was much more mature than elementary-school pupils. As an illustration of the difference between the two grades, he cited the practice of chewing candy and gum in class as childish behavior rarely found in the junior high school. Some of the children may have smiled at the teacher's naïveté, but gum chewing ceased to be a nuisance in that class.

The teacher's praise is a reward that is appreciated by all children, even by those who glory in their own sophistication. It is a satisfactory means of gratifying the universal desire to win attention. To be useful as an incentive, the praise should not be overdone nor should it give the impression of being empty

[7] E. L. Thorndike, *Human Learning* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1931), p. 42.

or insincere. Children often complain that the teacher is ever ready to scold them at the first sign of wrong-doing, while their best efforts are permitted to pass unnoticed. Teachers are so eager to see the work progress smoothly that they consider good conduct and good work too ordinary to deserve comment. Praising a class that has had 100 per cent attendance for one day will do more to secure regularly perfect attendance than will reprimands and punishment for those who are absent on other days. There are uncounted opportunities every day when a kind word from the teacher is in order. A classroom dominated by praise of the right action rather than by scolding of the wrong one inculcates the attitude that teacher and class are coöperating toward achieving a common goal rather than working at cross purposes. Such a classroom is conducive to the development of emotional stability.

The desire for social approval is applicable to almost all grades of the school and has a real place both in school and in the outer world. The child who excels should be helped to win the approbation of his mates by means of "Honor Rolls," posted lists of the children who have done well in the various phases of school work, monitorships, etc. These rewards have genuine appeal. Election to an honorary group is to be based on criteria that children recognize as fair. These honors are not to be stigmatized by any action of the teacher that tends to make them available only to the teacher's "pets." An obvious injunction warns the teacher never to use the honor as a basis for ridicule. To invite laughter at the arithmetic errors of members of the "Arithmetic Club" is to make membership in such a club a liability rather than an asset. Wherever possible, the children themselves are permitted to vote the honors in order to emphasize the fact that it is the approval of the group that is being extended. Having numerous class posts filled by popular election helps spread social approval and offers to other pupils a greater chance of winning such approval later.

The approbation of parents is a strong motive to which most

children respond. In the majority of cases, parents are so busy with their own problems that to ask them to call at the school entails a real sacrifice. Communications by mail or by messenger are therefore used. The child's papers are sent home for examination by the parent, perhaps with a memorandum by the teacher, explaining the nature of the excellence illustrated by the exercise. Many teachers find it desirable to include a short personal communication with the regular monthly report. Note that the teacher does not communicate with the family solely for punishment. The attitude the school strives to foster is that parents and teacher are alike interested in the child's development, and therefore each of them tells the other of those achievements that merit attention.

The teacher's approval, which should be available to all students, can be demonstrated by the use of public commendation, personal praise, exhibition of children's work, and appointment to monitorships.

Monitorial positions are useful rewards. By creating a large number of positions, the school can give more children the impression that they are essential for the proper conduct of the class. An ingenious teacher can provide positions for a great many without letting them get in each other's way. To concentrate all class chores in the hands of a few is to give such children the uncomfortable epithet of "pet" while it deprives the others of an excellent incentive to good work. It is unwise for the teacher to wait until the child has committed a series of misdeeds before he is "won over" by being given some class duty. Children are quick to see through the stratagem of the teacher who makes monitors of her problem children. When positions are used as rewards, good behavior rather than misbehavior should be rewarded. An enviable position should come after much good work and not as a sequel to serious disciplinary trouble.

That this means of reward has value in treating some problem cases is not to be questioned. Many children who are habitu-

ally tardy will come to school early if they have some special duty that necessitates arrival before school opens. Similarly some of the pupils who are constantly teasing and tormenting younger children may be led to change their actions by giving them a monitorial position which involves their protecting or keeping order among the young ones. The teacher must be careful to conceal the fact, provided the children let her do so, that the position is a palliative, or, better, a preventive measure.

To illustrate the manner in which this may be done, consider the instance when Miss T. wanted to win over her habitually tardy Eugene. She asked the boy to help her after school one day, and while they were clearing a closet together, she referred to the care with which he kept his books and papers neat and suggested to the boy that perhaps he was capable of exercising the same care in keeping the room presentable. She had been looking for some child with a sense of responsibility adequate for the position of custodian of the classroom supplies. That boy would come to school before the others arrived, clean the boards and then the board erasers, distribute the chalk, and help get the room ready for the arrival of the pupils. Eugene soon saw that this was a position well worth having In the large school he was attending, this meant that he would be able to flourish a "pass" to the monitors at the gates and be admitted before the others were. When Eugene volunteered to do the work, Miss T. expressed her regrets that, much though she would like to have him, the appointment would be impossible since he was so often detained at his home. They finally agreed that he was to talk to his mother, see what arrangements could be made at home, and then, if he showed the success of his planning by getting to school on time every day for a week, he was to be tried out in the new position. The plan worked.

Both directly and vicariously, the child's desire for new experiences can be gratified by his classroom activities. The use of problems makes the social sciences, mathematics, and the natural sciences more interesting. Classroom demonstrations and laboratory experiments impress children with the fascination of science studies. The class excursion gives substance to abstract discussions of civics and home geography. All subjects can appeal to the child's love of the new and the novel. Thus, the physics teacher applies his principles to the students' environment and has the class construct a simple radio set; the

English teacher has his group mimeograph its magazine; the civics teacher escorts his students on a visit to a court-house; and the music teacher secures passes or reduced rate tickets for a concert. Such procedures as these are not devices or tricks; they are effective incentives which can be used to create a lasting interest in the subject.

The desire to win a reward is a low form of motivation, almost a vulgar form, yet it has the great merit of efficacy and is unquestionably to be preferred to exclusive reliance on punishment in dealing with children who are untouched by the appeals referred to earlier. The rewards need not have any monetary value; praise, the exhibition of one's work, the appointment to a monitorship, and a letter of commendation sent to the parents have all demonstrated their worth. To be effective, the reward must be within reach of all children, should not arouse animosities among the pupils, and should leave no lasting feeling of disappointment or of having been unfairly treated.

Prizes are ordinarily of little value as incentives, for they tend to overstimulate a few children at the head of the class while the other children remain unaffected. How many of us would be stirred by an announcement of a valuable prize that is being offered for the most outstanding drama written in our city or for the best work of symphonic music composed by a resident? The situation is similar in the classroom. When a prize is offered for the child with the highest spelling average for the term, all the pupils may start full of ambition. By the end of the first week the duller children realize that the prize is not to be theirs. Soon, most of the children have withdrawn, and the race is left to those at the head of the class, who do not need the keen competition in the first place. Moreover, the social penalty for failure in a competition may be too great for the sensitive children.

Prizes are effective when the members of a group are so nearly alike in ability that all really have a chance of winning—a most

unusual situation. If the school is to offer prizes, it should reward effort and improvement as well as ability, possibly awarding two prizes, one for the youngster with the greatest ability and another for the child showing the greatest gain in the course of the contest. Contests are further limited by the teacher's difficulty in selecting a winner without seeming to be biased or unfair. The bases for choice must be so impersonal and fair that all concur in the selection of the winner.

The reward should never be used as a subterfuge for bribery. It is difficult to justify the practice of offering a reward to the child who refrains from committing a breach of discipline. This procedure is illustrated by the teacher's promising the boy a monitorial position if he will stop abusing the younger pupils. Though this incentive is sometimes the only alternative to exclusive reliance on punishment, it is an inadequate foundation for the permanent improvement of the pupil's adjustment to his environment.

Another form of reward that has little value is the practice of seating children according to their marks. A preferential seating plan is unsound in so many respects that psychologists are surprised to see it used at all. The only justifiable basis for seating students is that which arranges the class so that the work proceeds in the most desirable manner. Children who have defective vision or hearing, or those who are so short that they cannot see over the heads of those sitting ahead of them, are therefore seated at the front. Seating together those pupils who have a common weakness facilitates group instruction. To seat youngsters on the basis of their test marks is therefore to work counter to the best interests of the group as a whole. This method of reward, too, fails to reach the greater portion of the class. There is generally keen rivalry to sit at the head of the class and to avoid sitting at the foot of the class; as for the other positions, it doesn't matter whether one sits in the third row or the fourth.

Although some children may be affected by the slight disap-

pointment of moving back a few seats, a disappointment that is necessarily a common one, the cruelest blow is reserved for the child who is to sit in the last seat of the last row. His incapacity is exposed to the jibes of the entire class until he becomes immune to them by admitting his inability or by seeking the empty consolation of disclaiming interest in school success. The teacher cannot shelter such a child from failure, for in most traditional academic school systems he is doomed to be a misfit, but she certainly can keep him from public humiliation and its undeserved reproach.

RIVALRY

The Case for Rivalry. Both rivalry and emulation have a long educational history. The Jesuit schools come to mind as an early illustration of the use of rivalry as an important incentive for the successful performance of school work. There it was the practice to team up one child with another of about the same ability and to consider the two boys rivals in all school activities. When the modern educator looks at the scheme employed, he must admit that some of the school exercises must have been more pleasant—and others, more tragic—than they were in other schools of the same day.

Rivalry gives zest to work that is otherwise uninteresting. If we had to spend the day stamping cards as rapidly as possible, we should undoubtedly find that the introduction of some scheme of rivalry relieved some of the boredom. There would be satisfaction on those occasions when we won the contest and a minor emotional thrill when we lost. In school, rivalry may be used to enliven the more routine activities. Drill periods in arithmetic, which easily sink to the level of drudgery, may be enlivened by the introduction of individual or group rivalry.

Rivalry tends to stimulate the rate of work. Most people work faster in competition than they do when alone, provided that the competition is not so exciting that it sets up highly emotional reactions which then reduce both the speed and the

quality of the performance. The rate at which the other contestants work sets a standard that one is tempted to equal or to excel. So, too, the teacher finds that the introduction of rivalry leads children to read more books, to write more carefully, or to go to the museum more often.

The Case Against Rivalry. As ordinarily used, rivalry is a highly individual form of motivation. No coöperation is necessary for success; indeed it is easier to win by having one's rival do badly than by doing well one's self. The rivalry may become so personal that the child learns to revel in his rival's discomfiture. Is it not too much to expect the child to help those who need aid when he knows that by doing so he automatically reduces the chances of his own triumphing? Antagonisms formed within the classroom often extend outside its precincts.

Competition does not always raise the level of performance. Since it is concerned with relative rather than absolute achievement, rivalry may be stabilized on a low level of performance. Why bother improving your penmanship, for example, when it is as good as that of the others in your class? This is one weakness of the modern tendency to grade children according to the normal curve. The story is told of the students in a large eastern university who were enrolled in a class where the instructor was in the habit of failing the lowest 10 per cent of the class, regardless of other circumstances. The students in one summer session group prevailed upon six visitors to the campus, wives of students in the class, to enroll for the course with the necessary fees paid by the members of the class. At the end of the course, these six appeared for the examination, which they duly failed. For a rather small additional fee, all of the regular students passed the course. One hopes that this story is untrue, but it is indicative of the ridiculous extreme to which modern marking can be carried.

When the rivals are poorly matched, there may be such disparity of ability that some children are always winning while others are regularly losing. Both of these results are unfortu-

nate, for one child gets so exaggerated an opinion of his own ability that he contemns other types of achievement and loses sympathy for the duller members of the class, while the loser is equally convinced that he isn't much good or that the school work is unfair.

Wholesome Applications of Rivalry. One way of overcoming excessively personal rivalry is illustrated by the procedure followed in a sixth-grade spelling class. The group is divided into eight teams of equal average spelling ability as measured by a pretest. Each team works as a unit during the supervised spelling study periods. When the routine weekly tests are given, the averages computed are team averages. There is considerable pupil interest in comparing the standing of the teams, but it is the group and not the individual that is the unit for these comparisons. The children soon discover the weak members of the team and in a short time make arrangements for special coaching and study. The superior pupil learns to devote his skill for the benefit of those less fortunate than he. Since failure is shared by the entire group, the chagrin is not as keen as it otherwise would be.

Group rivalry can be conducted with the unit consisting either of the entire class or of a smaller group within the class. These groups should be approximately equal in ability or the competition becomes so unequal that interest is lost. Unequal groups further complicate the problem by making failure or success rather constant factors. Where the group is a section of a class, the groups should be realigned at intervals, the teacher always being careful to maintain the relative equality of the groups. Shifting the children from one group to another equalizes the chances of a child's being in a winning or a losing group.

The teacher is to avoid grouping children in such a way as to strengthen undesirable biases. The school would undoubtedly hesitate to have the children of one racial group compete against the children of another racial group, yet it uses other bases of grouping that are just as objectionable. Where children are seated according to size, a division by rows may result

in humiliating a child because he is short or because he is tall. Distinctions based on sex are undesirable, for if one group is consistently superior to the other, it is difficult to reorganize the groups. Since children may carry the results of class rivalry outside the school, the teacher must avoid using systems of grouping that facilitate the permanent cleavage of the larger social group, the class, into cliques. In all systems of group rivalry, the teacher must consciously strive to stress the importance of mutual aid and coöperation for a common goal.

Hurlock[8] has found that group rivalry did succeed in increasing the arithmetic ability of a sixth-grade class when it was informed of the gains it was making over a competing group that was originally equal in ability. The competitive factor is not the only incentive in this experiment since knowledge of success is also involved.[9] Nevertheless it is significant that knowledge of *group* success is an incentive.

Since the concomitant effects of group rivalry are so much more desirable than are those of individual rivalry and since group rivalry is effective as an incentive for greater effort in the classroom, the teacher should place her reliance on competition between groups rather than between individuals.

Another way of using rivalry effectively is illustrated by rivalry with one's self. Constructing an individual-progress chart, the pupil plots the results of the various tests given him and easily sees how rapidly he is progressing. He is not aided in any way by the other pupils' failure, and it is obviously impossible for him to develop any antagonism toward the other members of the class. When he reaches a plateau in the curve of learning, there is a strong incentive for him to enlist the teacher's aid in determining the causes and in formulating a remedial program. Where the pupils come to class discouraged, a simple initial test

[8] E. B. Hurlock, "The Use of Group Rivalry as an Incentive," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Vol. 22, No. 3 (October–December, 1927), pp. 278–290

[9] What would have happened if the second group were regularly informed of its inferiority to the first group?

permits every child to have an initial period of improvement. This early consciousness of success is a strong incentive which may lead to more sustained effort, especially in a child who has failed so often that he despairs of ever winning the teacher's praise.

EMULATION

Most people pattern certain phases of their behavior on models that seem to them to be worthy. Children do so too, but they are also subject to the common weakness of wasting energy in the vain endeavor to emulate the achievements of those who are not worthy of imitation or of those whose ability is so great that any attempt at imitation is doomed to failure.

Emulation has educational possibilities that have been used apparently from the beginning of time, by both parents and teachers. Who has never been asked, "Why can't you do your work as neatly as Bill does?" For an abstract discussion of what is wanted of the child, emulation substitutes a living model who demonstrates exactly the standard that is set. To speak of "neatness" in vague terms is one thing; to let the child desire to be as neatly dressed as some particular child is much more specific.

Stimulating the Desire to Emulate. There can be no emulation without the child's desire to imitate. Constant nagging is apt to lead to resentment and negativism rather than to the desired end of emulation. When a normal youngster is asked to dress as neatly as some other child, he is likely to respond by considering the model to be a "sissy" and undeserving of emulation or imitation. As generally used, emulation implies that the child who is being appealed to is inferior; children resent such an implication.

In developing the desire to emulate, mere preaching is insufficient. The teacher must first attempt to build up the pupil's consciousness of the model's superiority in the respect in which she desires to induce emulation and then help the child realize that *he,* too, can do as well. The nature of the approach must

vary for different children, but if it is too awkward or too direct, it renders impossible any attempt at emulation. The child's self-respect does not permit him to imitate some one of whom he disapproves, merely to please a parent or a teacher. He may go through the motions of emulation, but the change in behavior is merely a surface one.

Setting an Attainable Goal. The object of his emulation should be within the child's reach. To set a goal that he considers too high may lead to his unwillingness to exert maximum effort because he does not think success is possible. Too often the constantly reiterated urge to equal the attainments of some one else leads merely to a more pronounced feeling of inferiority and an actual loss of motive for improvement.

For a better understanding of the basis for emulation, it is desirable to evaluate the two kinds of appeal as we see them in historical perspective. Both the ancient Romans and the Athenians used emulation as an important means of character training. The Greeks used as their heroes the various gods and demigods in which their mythology abounds; the boy was asked to emulate the courage of an Achilles. Among the Romans, the model was an actual living person, with perhaps the father or an uncle being used as the illustration. The Greek boy was asked to emulate the achievement of some one who was perfect, or nearly so; the Romans took a more humble object as the model. Which is preferable in practice? The child knows that he cannot possibly be as brave as Achilles. For one thing Achilles was immune to injury except at the heel so that he could be injured only when he ran away from the enemy; facing the enemy he was safe. The Roman model suffered no such drawback. The child saw his father under all circumstances and knew that he was a mortal. The weaknesses as well as the strengths of the parent were visible and thus made the prospect of reaching that level a practicable one. So far as actual results are concerned, the Roman method is more effective.

Many teachers make the error of using themselves as models

for imitation and emulation, not realizing that most children, thinking of the teacher as living in a world apart, cannot conceive of their attempting to equal or to excel the teacher's attainments.

Here is a class with an unsatisfactory record in punctuality. The teacher then delivers the speech that has undoubtedly been heard in almost every school in the world. "How far do you live from the school? Do you know what time I have to get up in order to get to school on time? If I can get here on time, why can't you?" etc. Children have a naïve but sincere answer to the question, "Because you're a teacher." To the child, the teacher is a member of a species closely related to the human species but differentiated by such characteristics as coming to school on time and always bringing books and pencils when needed. No child ever really hopes to equal the teacher's perfect record.

Instead of using himself as a model, the teacher does better to use some one nearer the child's status. In the instance referred to above, the class itself is available as a model. By skilful questions, the teacher may easily get them to realize that they felt quite tired on arising that morning, yet such was their sense of responsibility that they forced themselves to get up promptly and to get to school on time. If *they* can be punctual, why need their reputation be spoiled by one or two? Certainly this child can do as well as his classmates, the teacher himself being left out of the discussion completely.

Spreading the Basis for Emulation. The burden of being a "model" child is too heavy for any youngster and alienates from him the affections of the class. It is usually fairly simple to use many children as models for emulation. The teacher praises one feature of the first child's behavior, another feature of a second child's manner, etc. Of course this must not give the impression that she is merely calling the roll with annotations. However, spreading the base of emulation does tend to remove the excessive personal element which leads the class to believe that the teacher is playing favorites and asking the other children to imi-

tate the impossible manners of a pet. Moreover, the teacher who thus seeks many children to use as models, discovers the very children she considers her troublesome cases to have some excellent personality traits. To use such children as models offers them a recognition of their value that they have never received before and may help convince them that the teacher deserves their confidence and coöperation. Occasionally, it is possible to use the entire class as a model. To appeal to the growing maturity of the class by such remarks as, "First-year children sometimes leave their books at home, but second-year boys and girls always can be trusted to bring their supplies," results in a growing sense of responsibility of the class as a whole and of the individual members thereof.

The discussion in this chapter indicates that the mental hygienist and the experienced teacher agree in their evaluation of the classroom use of incentives. This is to be expected, for any incentive used successfully by the teacher must be based on a thorough understanding of child psychology. The chief contribution made by mental hygiene is its demonstration that an incentive must be evaluated from the standpoint of the child's total personality adjustment as well as from that of its efficacy in inducing a temporary modification of the child's responses.

Problems for Study and Discussion

1. An elementary-school teacher has been using praise and flattery in order to encourage better adjustment on the part of one of her third-grade pupils who is both a conduct problem and a behavior problem. After a definite improvement has been effected, there is a relapse. During a conversation with the teacher, the girl revealed that the father had told her that the teacher's praise must have been insincere.

What should the teacher do?

2. A high-school senior has been humiliated in front of her class by a teacher who objected to the girl's excessive use of cosmetics. In her next class, the girl is sullen. When asked by the second teacher what the trouble was, the girl insolently remarked, "Some teachers can't mind their own business." One of the other students then told the teacher what had happened in the preceding period.

What should the second teacher do?

3. In one of our cosmopolitan cities, there is a boys' academic high school where the students' speech is replete with foreignisms and slang. When a teacher attempts to get the poorer students to speak as well as some of the better students do, the boys' response reveals that they consider the model students to be effeminate and unworthy of imitation.

What can be done?

4. A teacher notices that his class is ordinarily restless, quarrelsome, and inattentive when they come to his class from the gymnasium.

What incentives or other procedures can he use in order to reduce the frequency of conduct problems?

5. How can the teacher stimulate the interest of a high-school pupil who is discouraged by his low marks and who feels that the commercial course he is taking will be of little vocational value?

6. From the point of view of the child's emotional adjustment, what difference does it make whether the teacher uses intrinsic or extrinsic motivation?

7 Why may one object to the teacher who makes each classroom period a tense, stimulating experience?

8 Which incentives are available for aiding the teacher who is trying to get one of her timid six-year-old pupils interested in social games?

9. Why do the usual classroom incentives often fail to stimulate the behavior-problem child?

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XIII

THE EVALUATION OF CLASSROOM PUNISHMENTS

THE procedure of the mental hygienist in dealing with problem behavior in the classroom is a long-range plan. He seeks to correct the manifestations of maladjustment by eliminating the basic causes. Misconduct is more than an offense that must be punished; it is a symptom to be investigated.

What is to be done when a child, unappreciative of the study the school is conducting quietly, continues to flout the teacher's authority and to disrupt the work of the group? The teacher dares not ignore such misconduct lest the other pupils misinterpret it as a sign of weakness and an invitation to disorder. The teacher finds that the judicious use of mild punishments, especially when combined with the positive appeals referred to in Chapter XII and with a modification of the school environment, solves many problems of discipline.[1]

The person without school experience often asks, "Why use punishment at all?" Familiar with the excesses to which punishment has been carried, he sees it as disproportionate to the offense. He hears the account of the punishment as narrated by the child, who may not give a complete picture of all that has occurred. He forgets, however, that the situation is different

[1] As Hollingworth comments, "Problems of 'deportment' have always played a large part in the work of the teacher and principal The current tendency is to substitute the term 'adjustment.' The shift in emphasis is from the comfort of the teacher to the welfare of the pupil. . . .

"However much we may emphasize conduct as a problem of adjustment; however much we may exalt the sanctity of the individual over institutional rules and the comfort of teachers, we cannot escape the fact that misconduct is a reality and must be handled."—H. L. Hollingworth, *Educational Psychology* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1933), p. 452.

when one is before a class and that the teacher is often powerless to change the school environment to meet the child's needs and interests. If a wise parent with only one or two children finds it necessary at times to resort to punishment, how much easier it is to explain the use of punishment by the teacher who is attempting to get forty or more students to master the requirements of a curriculum that makes no allowance for time wasted by the children. When the millennium arrives, every pupil will be graded and classified properly, they will all be emotionally adjusted, the curriculum will be part of the child's life, and the teaching will be so vital and dynamic that punishment is unnecessary. In the meantime, we do well to administer punishment in such spirit as to minimize harm and to achieve some positive outcomes.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PUNISHMENT

Punishment as Conditioning. Punishment can be interpreted both as conditioning and as an application of the law of effect. Punishment as conditioning is best illustrated by J. B. Watson's noted experiment with Albert and the white rat. Having first found that the infant played with the animal with no sign of fear or aversion, Watson then proceeded to condition the baby against white furry animals by having a steel bar struck with a carpenter's hammer just as the infant's hand touched the rat. After seven days of the baby's association of white rat with sudden loud noise, Watson observed that [2]

> The instant the rat was shown the baby began to cry. Almost instantly, he turned sharply to the left, fell over, raised himself on all fours, and began to crawl away so rapidly that he was caught with difficulty before he reached the edge of the mattress.

If playing with a white rat is taken as an illustration of a habit that the school is attempting to eradicate, the youngster will be

[2] J. B Watson, "Experimental Studies on the Growth of the Emotions," in C. Murchison, *Psychologies of 1925* (Worcester, Mass., Clark University Press, 1926), p. 52.

conditioned against the continuance of the habit when the school associates the act with an unpleasant consequence. After a while, the act will not be performed even though the punishment is omitted.

When the conditioned-response technique is used for schoolroom disciplinary purposes, the laboratory situation must be duplicated in the classroom. First, a punishment is selected that is as distasteful to the pupil as the sound of a hammer striking a steel bar is to an infant. Then, the child is exposed to this punishment every time he makes the wrong response. The punishment and the wrong response must be so closely associated in time that the two are assumed by the child to be identical. Until the conditioning is assured, there must be no exception to the rule that the undesirable response is immediately followed by the punishment.

Let us suppose that the child responds to the stimulus "3 × 4 = ?" by saying "7." He can be unconditioned if the teacher makes certain that each time he says "7" in response to the situation "3 × 4 = ?" the punishment follows immediately. Though this method of treatment will not teach him the correct response, it aids in removing one specific wrong response. Similarly, by punishing the pupil every time he is cruel to another child, the teacher attempts to correct the pupil who torments younger children.

Because of the dissimilarity of the two situations, punishments are rarely as effective in class as conditioning is in the laboratory. It is virtually impossible to have the punishment simultaneous with the offense even though this contiguity in time is essential for conditioning. Second, the punishment usually follows the detection rather than the commission of the offense. Thus children are punished not when they cheat, but when they are detected. Third, the school situation does not punish the wrong response as regularly as did Watson in his laboratory. The teacher may not notice the wrong response, or she may be so busy that she ignores the error. When condition-

ing is used, there must be no omission of the penalty. Fourth, punishment is useful only as a means of eradicating a specific wrong response; it has no value as an incentive for the development of the correct response. In the illustration cited earlier, the child may learn that 3×4 is not 7, but he does not yet know the correct answer to the equation. Finally, there is the danger that the child will attach the punishment not to the specific stimulus to which the teacher objects, but to the entire classroom situation. The child who is being punished for making an error in arithmetic may grow to dislike the subject, the teacher, and the school. Even were punishment to facilitate the learning process, it still would be of dubious value if it made the classroom a place where children are afraid to respond for fear of making an error.

The Law of Effect. A slightly different explanation of the psychological use of punishment is obtained by applying Thorndike's law of effect.[3] Punishment is decidedly "an annoying state of affairs" and it is the teacher's hope that the infliction of punishment will reduce the likelihood of a repetition of the offense. The limitations of punishments justified by the law of effect are similar to those listed earlier as affecting punishments used as conditioning. Experimental evidence indicates that punishment may inhibit undesirable behavior, but it can hardly be used to facilitate the child's positive adjustment to his environment.

Recent investigations demonstrate that punishing the incorrect response is of little value to the learning process. Some of the experiments conducted by Thorndike and his assistants to determine the efficacy of punishment, indicated that the

[3] "To the situation 'a modifiable connection being made by him between an S and an R and being followed by a satisfying state of affairs' man responds, other things being equal, by an increase in the strength of that connection. To a connection similar, save that an annoying state of affairs goes with or follows it, man responds, other things being equal, by a decrease in the strength of the connection." E. L. Thorndike, *Educational Psychology—Briefer Course* (New York, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1914), p. 71.

repetition of the incorrect response did more to fix that response than the infliction of punishment served to weaken it.[4] The use of rewards to strengthen the desirable response has been found to be a greater aid to the formation of the habit of correct response than is the use of punishment. The evidence substantiates the mental hygienists' contention that reliance must be placed on strengthening the proper response by using positive incentives.

THE BASIS FOR PUNISHMENT

The predominant aim of the punishment, whether it be retribution, deterrence, or correction, will influence the spirit in which punishment is administered; it will also determine when an occasion makes punishment necessary and the kind of punishment used.

Punishment as retribution is unjustifiable in schools, for it assumes "contrariness" to be the real cause of the child's misbehavior. The teacher is above the level of mere vengeance; she must act as though the only reason punishment is meted out is that the misdemeanor is against the best interests of the child and of the group. How retribution influences punishment is illustrated by the following instance.

Miss D. invited one of her professors to the school auditorium to see a play written and produced by the members of her class. After returning to the classroom, she was conversing with the visitor when one of the pupils took a book from another's desk. A fist fight resulted, but was quickly stopped by the teacher. As soon as the visitor left, Miss D. turned to the two culprits. Embarrassed at having been humiliated before her guest, she told them what she thought of their humiliating her publicly. She gave them each ten demerits and asked them to write five copies of the play, *in ink*. Is punishment as retribution unheard of in schools? Unfortunately, the answer is, "No."

Though punishment is often just thinly veiled vengeance, the rationalization is found in the hope that the punishment

[4] E. L. Thorndike and others, "An Experimental Study of Rewards," Contributions to Education, No. 580 (New York, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933), p. 4.

acts as a deterrent. This is the same idea that lies at the basis of the penal code. The history of criminology, however, records the fallacy of this belief. There have been waves of crime and waves of increasingly severe punishment, and it is debatable which is the cause and which, the effect.[5]

There is little objective evidence concerning the efficacy of punishment as a classroom deterrent. Fear of punishment undoubtedly keeps some children from breaking the rules governing social behavior in the classroom, but there are other and more effective ways of preventing misdeeds. There is more hope in the use of positive appeals and the building of desirable habits than there is in the practice of merely punishing misdeeds as they occur.

Punishment as a deterrent not infrequently involves the severe punishment of some child as an example to the others. This practice is fraught with danger, particularly to the unfortunate one who is chosen to be the example. His resentment may perpetuate disorder because he now feels that he has a real grievance. The other pupils sympathize with him and are inclined to side with him instead of with the teacher. The very infliction of punishment goes far toward destroying attitudes that the teacher has labored long to build.

In one elementary school, the principal was vexed by the many complaints made by the women of the neighborhood who were being pelted with snowballs by the pupils. He appeared before the assembled school and warned the boys that the next one to be caught would be treated severely. Sure enough, on promotion day one youngster was brought to the office by a girl who caught him just after he had thrown a snowball at her. The boy was ordered to wait while the necessary changes were

[5] "The truth is, that what is called crime is not prevented by fear of punishment. It has never been influenced that way. This is due to causes that are not always clear and distinct and readily understood. No amount of cruelty and threatening can affect the cause. To prevent burglary the cause must be removed; it can never be done in any other way."—C. Darrow, *The Story of My Life* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), p. 349.

being made in the record so that he was left in his present class for another term. It was in substance a six months' sentence for throwing a snowball at a girl. Are there not better ways of deterring boys from throwing snowballs at women?

Punishment as a Corrective. Mental hygienists approve of punishment only when it is used as one means of removing a tendency to unsocial behavior. Punishment must be seen not as a separate entity, but as part of the educative process. The specific offense becomes secondary as the teacher adjusts the nature and the degree of the punishment to the child. Considerations of retribution are, of course, irrelevant. Viewing punishment as a corrective measure reveals the weakness of those class codes which define in advance the penalty for such breaches as doing home work carelessly, coming late, or being insolent. Even in punishment, the teacher is primarily a teacher and a leader, not a policeman and a magistrate. To make the punishment fit the crime may be satisfactory for Gilbert and Sullivan; the school, however, should make the punishment fit the "criminal" so well that he ceases to be a "criminal."

Whether an offense should be punished depends upon the reason accepted as justifying the use of punishment. Retribution demands that every offense be punished. If punishment is employed as a deterrent, it is again necessary that the teacher punish every offense and that the punishment come as soon after the offense as possible. The connection of offense with punishment can be made in the child's mind only when punishment comes directly and inescapably after the misdemeanor.

The corrective attitude toward punishment has other implications. Punishment need not accompany every offense. Sometimes, what should follow is a discussion of the problem presented by this specific act and of the ways in which it goes counter to the group's welfare. At times, misconduct leads to the search for methods of preventing the repetition of the offense. Serious or chronic disorder is merely a symptom of some more remote condition, which must be discovered and treated

if the basic cause is to be removed. Perhaps there is no incentive for the student to do as the teacher wishes. Certainly pupils' personalities are so different that it is well-nigh impossible to decide in advance what the procedure is to be when a specific act is discovered. When the teacher's major concern is with the correction of her pupils' mechanisms of adjustment, punishment is used only after the teacher has exhausted all positive appeals.

The correction of the youngster should determine the spirit in which punishment is administered. The child should be shown that he is being punished for a social transgression. This implies that the child should see the necessity for the various regulations he is asked to obey. Once he realizes that there is reason for the proposed mode of action, it is comparatively easy to convince him that his offense is one against the group of which he is a part and in whose welfare he is interested. The teacher's personal feelings are left out of the discussion. The child must never feel that he is being punished for having annoyed the teacher.

When punishments are administered effectively, they satisfy the following criteria: They aim at modifying the child's behavior and not at punishing him for past misdeeds. They are not regarded as constituting the complete treatment for problem behavior. They assist the student to make a sound adjustment to his environment. They are used only when the child fails to respond to incentives. They are adapted to the child. They are not unduly severe. They leave no residue of antagonism or resentment. How adequate are the usual classroom punishments when they are evaluated according to these criteria? The remainder of this chapter is devoted to such an evaluation.

PUNISHMENT BY NATURAL CONSEQUENCES

Many psychiatrists consider natural punishments desirable for school use and recommend that the only punishment to be

used is that which is the natural consequence of the offense. For example, the child who cheats on his home work will be punished in time when he realizes that he has not mastered the material and receives a lower grade as a result of his poorer work. Were natural punishment practicable in our schools, mental hygienists should prefer to have the teacher rely upon that means of disciplining the unruly child, for natural punishment relieves the teacher of all personal influence in the result and demonstrates to the child that the only ones to suffer from his thoughtlessness are his classmates and he. However, punishment by natural consequences can be used in the classroom only infrequently.

Exclusive reliance on natural punishments is not feasible for the many reasons that are by now familiar to all teachers. The consequences may be postponed so long that the child fails to connect them with the original offense, or the habit of which the offense is a manifestation may be so firmly entrenched by that time that it is difficult to change the mode of response. The seriousness of the punishment may be out of all proportion to the need for such punishment. Why should a child be permitted to drift until it is necessary for him to waste six months of his life repeating the work of the grade? The school work is frequently so artificial that nature has not yet devised appropriate punishments. What natural punishment is available for children who refer to the teacher in obscene language?

It is obvious that the teacher cannot limit herself to natural punishment although she imitates its spirit. Although the school finds it necessary to substitute for the blindness of nature an insight that is more understanding, the punishment should *seem* to be a natural consequence of the offense. The child who is repeatedly careless in his home-work assignments is asked to stay after school to do his work under the teacher's guidance. In the whole realm of nature there isn't a single instance where nature has devised a similar treatment for a condition of this sort. The teacher explains to the child, however,

that since he has demonstrated his inability to do his work at home, it is up to the school to afford him the facilities and guidance he apparently needs. Nothing of retribution is involved; if he cannot do his work at home, then "naturally" it is up to the teacher to give him the opportunity of doing it in school. The spirit is that of natural punishment even though the form is artificial.

PUNISHMENT BY FEAR

Fear is an inhibiting rather than a stimulating force. A child who is thoroughly scared is not in the mood for study or for any other mental activity; the human body has evolved so slowly that its responses to fear are still physiological and not mental. A frightened boy is ready to feign death or sometimes to take flight, but he is not fit to solve problems or to memorize lists of facts. Experiments show that any strong emotion, including fear, tends to reduce the speed and accuracy of learning. The distinction between fear and fright is one only of degree, and the prolonged use of fear is just as disastrous as fright. Resorting to fear is even more objectionable because of its more subtle influence and because it is used without any realization of the harm it does. Psychologically, fear is an unsatisfactory influence; psychiatrically, its unjustified use is definitely harmful.

Many school systems that prohibit corporal punishment permit the use of fear, the effects of which outlast those of any form of corporal punishment likely to be used in a classroom. What school achievement is worth the price of the loss of the child's initiative or the development of a subconscious attitude that regards the school, the teacher, and intellectual work in general as enemies to be avoided? Adults look at their own world and find it full of fear, fear of the loss of one's job, fear of the disapproval of one's supervisor, fear of economic loss, etc. How much worse must the influence of fear in school be when

we realize that children who leave school to go to work feel relieved at the comparative absence of fear in the world outside the school.

Morton [6] has made an exhaustive study of the fears of childhood and finds them to be much more prevalent and potent than teachers ordinarily suspect. One of the fears Morton refers to is that of being afraid. The youngster assumes a bold pose and confides to no one the fear he has within him. Why should the school aggravate the condition by introducing new fears, especially when they are so often unnecessary?

When fear is resorted to, it should be done deliberately instead of in the off-hand manner so often employed. It is a powerful weapon and thus should be used only when the teacher knows she is doing so and can therefore gauge the results carefully. This pause for thought will also reduce the number of occasions when this appeal is used.

The penalty should ordinarily have a definite time limit. It is unwise to tell the child that he will be demoted the next time he fails in a test as the result of careless errors, and then to let this threat hang over his head for the remainder of the term. If such a threat is made at all, it should refer to a specific time at the end of which interval he is permitted to return to the ordinary routine with the rest of the class. Unless there is a definite time limit to the threat, the miscreant may make either of two adjustments, both unsatisfactory. He may become so accustomed to the threat that he ignores it and thus renders ineffective another of the teacher's weapons, or he may take it so seriously that it interferes with the calm routine of his daily life.

Corporal Punishment. Public opinion has moved rather steadily toward the view that corporal punishment is out of place in a school. Though many boards of education expressly prohibit the use of corporal punishment, it is still employed.

[6] G. F. Morton, *Childhood's Fears* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1925), 281 pp.

This means of punishment is to be condemned on grounds from the most practical to the most ideal. It is seldom possible for the teacher to administer corporal punishment and yet keep her personality out of the picture. Its use is conducive to the teacher's loss of temper with the undesirable implications of such a temper tantrum. The basis of school work now becomes fear of brute force, the lowest and least satisfactory of all school motives. This form of punishment is generally mere retribution and cannot be reconciled with the use of punishment as a corrective influence. Since corporal punishment fails to attack the causes of the child's behavior, the disciplinary effect of the blow wears off long before the bruise does. Punishment is not an incentive to learning, for a child smarting with physical pain is incapable of doing the type of work desired by the teacher.

When corporal punishment is administered, it should be resorted to for its shocking quality rather than its punitive or corrective merits. It may serve to calm the bravado or bully whose thin protective armor must be pierced before any real remedial work can be attempted. A junior high-school teacher asked one of her more troublesome students who had been stealing textbooks and selling them to other pupils, to report to her at dismissal time. At the proper time he appeared at her room, but in the company of two other boys. "I'm Al Capone and these are my lieutenants," he said smilingly and boastfully. What can a teacher do with this boy when he is in that frame of mind? A sudden blow—it needn't be severe—will crumple his bravado so quickly, that before he has had a chance to recover his poise, the teacher can take the initiative and set the tone for the meeting. Where corporal punishment is not permitted, the teacher must find some other means of changing his attitude before she proceeds. It is useless to talk to "Al Capone" or with any other juvenile wiseacre. Unless the teacher can lead the discussion, it is preferable to postpone the meeting till the child's mood has changed or the teacher has gained in firmness. Obviously, corporal punishment is altogether inade-

quate as the sole means of effecting the child's adjustment and cannot be substituted for the individualized case study and treatment. In view of all the limitations referred to earlier, corporal punishment should be used rarely.

EVALUATION OF VARIOUS CLASSROOM PUNISHMENTS

The rôle that infliction of punishment plays in the modification of the pupils' behavior patterns necessarily influences the manner in which the teacher incorporates the administration of punishment as part of her disciplinary procedures. Since unduly harsh punishments often relieve the immediate conduct problem only to create more difficult behavior problems later, mental hygienists recommend a group of minor punishments that are effective when used early enough and thus render any more severe procedures unnecessary. Such measures as staring at the child, calling his name, directing a question at him, and admonishing him, have the added merit of nipping trouble in the bud without interrupting the progress of the lesson. The alert teacher, attentive to the minor way in which serious disorder so frequently starts, avoids the problems that later require stronger remedies.

Deprivation of a position is also employed as a punitive measure. When it is used, the child should never be punished so severely that he feels it imposible to win back his former place in the class. The school is interested in motivating his right actions, it must be remembered, not merely in avenging his wrong ones.

When reprimands are administered, they should be given unemotionally. The reason for the undesirability of the act should be stressed, and the child should be shown how he is interfering with the rights of the others. Certainly, a rebuke should never degenerate to abuse, nor should it be characterized by the use of epithets. Reprimands are effective when administered infrequently; they lose their value rapidly when overused.

Teachers occasionally punish children by calling for the completion of some written task; for example, the youngster may be asked to write a stated number of times some such sentence as "I must come to school on time." This method of punishment avoids the true causes of the trouble, lends itself to circumvention by having the child prepare these sheets in advance or by having his friends do part of the assignment for him, and usually fails as a deterrent and corrective.

A variation of this method has the pupil prepare some written material connected with the lesson in which the disorder occurred. The child who is inattentive during the period devoted to poetry, for example, is asked to write that poem several times. Poetry has been defined in many ways, but no one has ever written the definition of poetry as given by the child who has already made eight copies of a poem and still has two more to write. To use the content of the course of study as a means of punishment is to build antipathy where we want sympathy, and disgust where we want hunger.

When a task is assigned, it should be one that has educative possibilities. A child who repeatedly litters the school grounds can be required to pick up the papers dropped on the stairways. He is asked to do this so that he may see how his own actions add work to an already overburdened janitorial staff. If the punishment is administered carefully, in the spirit of natural consequences and not of retribution, the student can be made to understand the objection to his offense.

The use of detention after school for punishment is effective even though it shouldn't be. Are schools so dreadful that the child's first impulse is to escape? Should it really be considered punishment if a child is asked to spend an extra half hour in the teacher's company? May the time come when the teacher and the school-room become so attractive that children plead for the privilege of detention, as they are doing in hundreds of classes. It is not difficult to make detention a reward rather than

a punishment. There are many odd jobs that are pleasing to the child and that must be done after school. Being chosen to assist in these tasks or being asked to spend a half hour in the informal company of the teacher is a delight that almost all children appreciate. The mere fact that a child is not invited to stay after school should be punishment enough.

Informal detention stimulates rapport with the problem children. While teacher and child are working together on some chore, possibly arranging the papers in the supply closet or classifying the books in the library, it is only natural that they converse. The teacher is relieved of the tension involved in facing the entire class, and the child loses the protective "hard shell" he wears during the day. The atmosphere is congenial, and getting down to causes is simplified.

When detention is used as punishment, the procedure is quite different. The child who is being detained must not be asked to do any of the chores about the class, since these are usually looked upon as being rather attractive duties. He is to be kept idle and with the knowledge that he will be dismissed at the end of a given time. A clock in view helps to prolong the apparent length of the period. The teacher is busy at her own work, giving the appearance that she has to be there anyway. If the teacher is obviously eager to get away, that feeling is soon sensed by the children who decide whether *they* are to keep the teacher after school that day. When the child seems sufficiently chastened, his problem can be discussed with him.

"Isolation" refers to the practice of permitting the student to remain in class while he is deprived of his books during the day and of the privilege (*sic*) of doing the class work and of participating in its activities. Time hangs heavy on the hands of those who have nothing to do while their friends are occupied. At the end of a day of isolation, with the knowledge that all tests and exercises given in the meantime are being marked as failures, the child is ready to talk with the teacher in a slightly

different tone than was possible at the beginning. Isolation is a serious penalty and should be used sparingly. It is too severe a punishment to be used with the exceptionally timid child.[7]

There is always the danger that the pupil will become defiant and troublesome, since he is idle all day long. For this reason isolation is used more often with younger children than with older ones. A useful precaution suggests seating the pupil in a rear corner of the classroom with the most reliable children as his neighbors. The teacher's constant surveillance will reduce the possibility of disorder. Isolation should not be extended beyond a day or two. If it has not achieved its effect by that time, it never will, and the teacher must find some pretext for retreating gracefully and permitting the pupil to continue with his class.

Similar to isolation, but less effective and justifiable, is the practice of ordering the child to stand in a corner of the room or in the corridor. To ask the child to stand in one place for a considerable length of time is to subject him to unnecessary physical strain. The sensitive youngster is likely to feel humiliated by so conspicuous a punishment. There is the danger that this punishment will create new difficulties for the teacher; the youngster standing in the corner may prove a center of attraction for his classmates' attention, and the pupil in the corridor may be tempted to wander into other parts of the school or even to leave the building without permission.

There is considerable difference of opinion concerning the desirability and the effectiveness of temporary demotion as

[7] As a precaution, children who are being isolated should be permitted to take their books home with them at the close of school each day and to return them to the teacher at the beginning of the succeeding day. In some instances, these children fail to be promoted at the end of the term. One parent complained that his child failed because the textbooks had been taken from his daughter and thus it was the teacher's fault after all. This contention was easily disproved; still it created an unpleasant situation. If the child has his books at home every evening, the teacher can argue that since the child hears all the explanations offered in class and can do his independent study at home, obviously the retardation cannot be attributed to the brief period of isolation.

punishment. Not infrequently it fails utterly as a solution for the problem and merely passes it on in an aggravated condition to the teacher of the lower class. The child realizes that the demotion is but a temporary measure and that he is soon to be restored to his own class. It may give him a position of prominence and be an experience not altogether distasteful to his ego. On the other hand, the psychiatrist objects to the severity of demotion, particularly when employed with sensitive youngsters. When it is employed, demotion must have the appearance of permanence, if it is to be at all effective. The child should be given a set of books in the lower class and be made to feel that he is to stay there until his work and conduct are so good that he deserves an extra promotion. The teacher of the lower class may inform him that at the end of a specified time she will refer his case to the authorities, but that the outcome will depend largely upon the record he is making in her class. The chief value of this mode of punishment is that it arouses the family to a realization of the seriousness of the child's problem and to the need for coöperation with the school if a solution is to be reached. Principals have found that the child's demotion brings the parent to school when all other requests fail.

Requesting the parent to come to school is more than a device for punishing the pupil; it is a necessary step in the process of discovering and correcting the underlying causes of the behavior problem. Since the conduct of the interview with the parent has already been discussed,[8] it is unnecessary for us to indicate here how such interviews should be carried on.

Punishments Based on Social Disapproval. Some punishments are useful because they make the child ashamed of what he has done. The underlying theory is that once the child realizes the unpopularity of his actions, he will see the error of his ways and will change them. Social pressure is here considered to be the real motivating force. The principle is effective, but it exposes the child to the danger of too much social

[8] See pp. 211–213.

disapproval. Social disapproval must never be permitted to take so severe an aspect that it leads to lasting humiliation.

At times, the particular act of misconduct is exposed to the class so that the pupils show their resentment at what has been done. The precaution of not naming the child is worth taking when it is apparent that class reaction is going to be harsh. The culprit may be told in advance, privately, that his misconduct has been discovered and that the class will be asked to suggest the appropriate punishment. Public exposure is used only when the offense is one that is genuinely disliked by the group. Otherwise, the class may admire and imitate, rather than condemn.

The official teacher of a high-school class "exposed" the way in which one of the boys in the class had regularly secured a "sick pass" [9] in order to avoid going to the class of an unpopular music teacher. When the teacher had concluded his explanation of the various devices employed by the boy in getting such excuse slips week after week, the students' facial expressions indicated that they were mentally applauding the boy's intelligence and craftiness.

On the other hand, when a class has developed a reputation for trustworthiness of which it is jealous, exposing what some child has done to tarnish that reputation is much more effective than is any punishment administered personally by the teacher.

Public exposure is not synonymous with public humiliation. The following instance is cited as an illustration of extreme humiliation that is wholly unjustified and creates more problems than it solves.

One teacher of a fourth-year elementary school class felt a strong aversion for a girl who came to school dirtily dressed. After the morning hygiene inspection had been conducted, the teacher asked Hazel to come to the front of the room. The class was attentive since the teacher had announced that she was going to show them how some children dared to come to school. When the unhappy girl approached the front of the room, the teacher shrank back in feigned disgust. "Don't come near *me!* Look at your shoes. How old were you when they were polished? Hold up that handkerchief so that everybody

[9] A pass permitting children who are ill to leave school early in the day.

can see how *white* it is. How many of the boys and girls in this class are ashamed to sit near a girl like this? I don't see why I should expose any one to the dirt you bring to school. Will you shine your shoes tomorrow? Will you wear a clean dress? Will you bring a clean handkerchief? Now take your seat." How soon will Hazel forget the humiliation she was forced to face? A child's self-respect endures a great deal without apparent injury, but once destroyed, it is regained by few children.

"Saturation" is the practice of requiring the child to do publicly what he has been doing privately. While the class is engaged in a recitation period, the class clown is busy, too, making all sorts of facial contortions and queer gestures. He is asked to come to the front of the room and to devote his time to such activities until he thinks he has had enough. As a rule, he soon subsides and proceeds with the work. However, if he has been doing something the class admires—for example, spinning a top in an unusual way—the teacher may discover that the class is engrossed in his demonstration and showers social approval instead of the expected censure. Saturation is inappropriate for the clown who turns the situation about so that he seems to be enjoying it, for then the teacher and not the child is being laughed at.

This method of censure is sometimes employed with children who are conversing when they should be busily at work on some task. They are asked to continue their conversation while the class awaits its termination. Some teachers require the conversationalist to "tell it to the whole class," a dangerous invitation. Experience teaches that children who balk at such an invitation show good sense and good taste. The subject-matter of the conversation may well be such that it is better not to "tell it to the whole class." The same objection can be raised to the practice of having the child read aloud a note that has just been passed to him by another child.

With regard to notes, the question may be raised whether a child is not entitled to the same degree of privacy in his communications that the adult ordinarily expects and gets. There is

too much ado about note passing in schools. When adults attend a lecture or a concert and think of something they want to communicate to a companion before the thought slips the mind, it is considered proper to write a note. As long as the writing or the passing of a note creates no disorder and does not interfere with the smooth progress of the work, there can be no legitimate objection to its use. It reduces the amount of conversation, which is still more of an interference to the work that has to be done. The privilege of writing notes should be extended as one way of relaxing the tense atmosphere of the school. When children are given this privilege with the proviso that communications must not be written or passed at inappropriate times, pupils usually take the responsibility in the proper manner. The teacher's discretion must decide when the class is ready for the introduction of this deviation from standard practice.

Sarcasm must be used cautiously as it is often misinterpreted as humor. For the teacher to build a reputation as a wit is no great task since much school work is so monotonous and uninteresting that a remark that arouses little comment outside the class seems to be the essence of wit when uttered in the classroom. Such is the prestige of the teacher that any near-humorous remark of hers is greeted by much, and at times sincere, laughter. Thus it happens that some of her sarcastic comments are treated as the humorous remarks of the teacher, who is then encouraged to use them more often. The youngster cannot respond quickly enough; when he does, he is considered impertinent. For a mature, experienced teacher to win a battle of wit with a ten-year-old opponent is an empty achievement. Sarcasm is generally cruel and personal. It builds attitudes of resentment instead of coöperation and can be carried to excess when the children echo the teacher's sarcastic comments.

When it is used at all, sarcasm should be reserved for "smart alecks," and not for the stupid ones. The child who day-dreams in class is a popular target for unmerited sarcasm, although he

is the one pupil who needs the teacher's sympathy. Comments such as "Even Andy knows that!" and "Well, Mr. Andrew, do you think you would be interested in doing some work today?" cannot be justified.

The teacher's use of epithets is undignified and unnecessary. The epithet the teacher uses on the spur of the moment and soon forgets is often cherished by the class at the child's expense. As newspaper comic strips wax popular, many children acquire the names of the idiots whose antics are currently described. Certainly, teachers should not add to the number of children who are so embarrassed. Among the traits that should never be the subject of epithets or nicknames are physical or mental peculiarities and shortcomings. Children are ordinarily extremely sensitive about excessive weight, unusual tallness or shortness, or any other characteristic which distinguishes them from the others. Even a feature they will later be proud of as giving them distinction—the girl who is sensitive about being so short will soon learn to refer to herself as *petite*—may nevertheless embarrass them when it is referred to by the teacher. Tradition and public opinion require that the child be a "good sport" and laugh with the others at every jibe at his expense. This laughter does not hide the fact that he is hurt, and hurt deeply. Many a fist fight has been started by some child's repeating on the playground what the teacher said in class. When the pupil is not able to avoid such taunts by means of victorious fist fights, his life is a miserable one.

Reducing the Severity of Punishments. The punishments discussed above are less severe than those now in common use. This is not necessarily a limitation of the measures that have been suggested. Severity of punishment is judged by a relative and not an absolute standard. Whether a given punishment is considered severe or not depends largely upon the punishments customarily meted out for more reprehensible offenses.

Let us take penal codes as an illustration. On the face of it,

sentencing a man to five years of imprisonment is a severe penalty. For five times three hundred and sixty-five days he is deprived of his liberty, his friends, his habits of work and play, his choice of food, etc. When a prison term of five years is imposed for relatively minor offenses and sentences of twenty and forty years are common, the average citizen unthinkingly interprets a five-year sentence to be equivalent to an acquittal or a suspended sentence.

So it is with school punishments. The greater the punishment for minor offenses, the more severe must punishments for graver offenses be. In some classes where a system of demerits is in force, a demerit is a serious penalty, something to be avoided if possible. Receiving two of them in one day is to be dreaded. The children do not imagine that it is possible to live through the day when a pupil receives five demerits. On the other hand, a visitor heard a teacher calling out "50,000 for Jim," "7,500 for Martha," and "100,000 for Peter." The children seemed remarkably happy in the face of demerits that were falling among them in unimaginable quantities. Was this teacher's discipline any better than that in the class where the penalty of two demerits is reserved for serious offenses?

Any system of discipline based on nothing more substantial than the fear of punishment is unstable. If it is founded on punishments of ridiculous severity, it is bound to fall of its own weight. The teacher's whole attitude should be one of active coöperation for the coming of the day that has already dawned in many classes where punishments are resorted to rarely, if at all, and where they are never regarded as adequate substitutes for the individual study and treatment of the behavior-problem children.

Problems for Study and Discussion

1. An eighth-grade boy who used to beat younger pupils is now in the care of a visiting teacher who has suggested that the classroom teacher emphasize the boy's merits and overlook minor failings.

When the other pupils noticed that the boy was slow in putting his

books away and that the teacher said nothing to him while she reprimanded other pupils for the same degree of slowness, they began to refer to the teacher as being afraid to punish him.

How should the teacher proceed?

2. A junior-high-school teacher has a nickname for almost every pupil in his class After he has exhausted his supply of such names as "Ichabod Crane," "Peanut," and "Squinty," he draws upon such historic figures as Cleopatra, Napoleon, and Lenin. He justifies this procedure as introducing an element of humor into a drab school-day and tells us that the child who is being addressed by the nickname laughs as much as the others do.

Is the practice desirable?

3. A high-school student was caught cheating in a classroom examination. The teacher confiscated the boy's notes and asked him to start afresh on another sheet of paper. As the teacher walked away, she heard him utter an obscene remark about her, just loudly enough to be heard by the teacher and the boy's immediate neighbors.

What should she do?

4. A fifth-grade girl, who has just been given three demerits for having pushed another pupil down the stairs during a fire-drill dismissal, defiantly remarks, "Aw, I don't care. Give me three more."

Should the teacher give her three more demerits?

5. In a printing shop of a large industrial high school, one of his classmates made a belittling remark about some work Michael Harrison was doing. In a burst of temper, Harrison threw a large ruler at his critic and, when it missed its mark, rushed forward to beat him.

a. What immediate action should the teacher take?

b. What should the teacher do later?

6. Are punishments necessary in a school run by a principal and teachers all of whom are following the principles of mental hygiene?

7. Why do parents generally use corporal punishment more frequently than teachers do, even in communities which place no legal restrictions on the teacher's administration of corporal punishment?

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XIV

METHODS OF TEACHING THAT RETARD ADJUSTMENT

A COMPARISON OF THE PSYCHIATRISTS' AND THE TEACHERS' ATTITUDE TOWARD METHODS OF TEACHING

Too frequently, the superintendent or the principal who has been convinced of the soundness of the mental-hygiene approach to education believes that he discharges his newly discovered obligations by establishing a child-guidance clinic. Though such clinics are undoubtedly valuable in facilitating the readjustment of the child with a serious problem, they do not touch the great majority of the school population. The inauguration of a clinic should not give the impression that mental hygiene is concerned exclusively with the correction of emotional disorders. Mental hygiene can do most to improve pupils' emotional health when all children are considered its subjects and when emphasis is placed on the building of good habits rather than on the correction of unhealthful procedures. To attain this larger goal, we must make the individual classroom, not the clinic, the center of the school's mental-hygiene program. We must see that classroom practices do not create additional problems for the clinic to solve.

Psychiatrists will admit that the central problem of the school-day is that of getting children to learn; it is therefore by the methods of teaching employed that the school will determine whether the principles of mental hygiene are to be abstractions or realities. It is unnecessary to attempt the formulation of a hygienic method of teaching arithmetic, history,

music, or any of the other subjects in the curriculum, for that would merely duplicate what educators have already done. There is so much in common between education and mental hygiene that any really sound method of teaching can be justified on the basis of mental hygiene. Furthermore, psychiatrists, regarding the class as a place where children and not subjects are taught, have little interest in the special devices used in separate subjects, the pupils themselves being remarkably alike whether they are studying one subject or another.

Moreover, the psychiatrist, concerned with the child's developing personality, regards the methods of teaching as significant only to the extent that they influence the students' mode of adjustment. He stresses the teacher's guiding principles rather than the specific applications. From the standpoint of the child's emotional health, it makes little difference whether the teacher presents decimals as a continuation of the study of common fractions or as an application of the decimal system of notation, and whether students master a foreign language by the direct method or by exercises in translation. To the teacher, these applications are important because they give substance to the basic principles; thus, few schoolmen would be willing to teach solid geometry equipped with only a knowledge of the subject and the desire to give students a feeling of security.

The teacher is ordinarily concerned with the direct results of her lessons, while the psychiatrist evaluates the effects of the instruction in terms of its indirect influence on the development of the child's personality. Thus the psychiatrist is wary of the use of the Socratic quiz because of the likelihood that children will be ridiculed for their ignorance and immaturity. He objects to the abuse of the marking book till it terrifies the pupil who has been called on to recite. The mental hygienist discovers that in the classroom the race is really to the swift; the slower child, who needs a little more time to frame his answer to the teacher's question, is stigmatized as dull and

stupid by his more fluent companions and the teacher. The psychiatrist is dismayed to find retardation considered a proper way of dealing with the pupil who is dull, or whose interests and aptitudes are different from those favored by the traditional curriculum. It is discouraging to see how easily most teachers brand a child as stupid merely because he does not excel in the comparatively few skills recognized by the school.

Frequently, the psychiatrist and the teacher agree in their evaluation of specific instances of methodology, although sometimes for different reasons. Thus both recognize the importance of careful gradation in the presentation of any difficult topic. The teacher knows that the analysis of any complex skill into its component skills makes for more efficient teaching and learning. She therefore grades her lessons carefully when she is teaching such a topic as the addition or subtraction of fractions and is careful to introduce only one difficulty at a time. From another point of view the psychiatrist, too, favors careful gradation. He holds ineffective teaching to be responsible for much pupil failure. He sees exact gradation as one means of aiding pupils to succeed in their school work. Gradation now ceases to be merely a principle guiding the organization of a series of lessons and becomes a force that makes the difference between a child's bewildered attempts to follow the teacher's instruction and the confident mastery of successive units of work, between the belief that school work is all meaningless drudgery and that which sees it as a series of attainable goals. In short, careful gradation marks the difference between a feeling of inferiority with its expectation of failure, and on the other hand, a feeling of confidence with its accompanying belief that the child can succeed in his school work.

The agreement between psychiatrist and teacher increases when the latter ceases to think only of the mechanics of teaching and becomes concerned with more fundamental questions. To be sure the form of the lesson is important, but in essence

methods of teaching are the medium by which the personality of the teacher affects that of her pupils. Mental hygiene really contributes little that is new to our understanding of teaching methods; it reminds us of the vital but often ignored truth that methodology must be interpreted and evaluated in terms of the effect on personality development.

TO WHICH PROCEDURES OF TEACHING DOES THE PSYCHIATRIST OBJECT?

The Exaggerated Importance of Marks. Many of the objections raised by psychiatrists to the procedures in our classrooms arise from the exaggerated importance of marks and grades. Tradition, a curriculum organized in terms of subject-matter, the development of standardized tests and the modern stress on the statistical treatment of grades, combine to overemphasize the significance of numerical ratings. The teacher's attitude is soon reflected by her students; the child's query, "Will it be marked?" is a naïvely damning comment on contemporary education.

The presence of the marking book during a discussion period is in most instances a teacher's confession that therein lies the motivation for the lesson. The marking book introduces a constant threat and does much to stifle freedom of discussion. Students should be encouraged to feel that questions are asked in order to clarify difficulties and to reconcile divergent points of view, and not merely to help the teacher assign marks. Many pupils really believe that the teacher calls on them only to see how many errors they will make. Relegating the marking book to the minor position it merits, reassures the timid child and encourages the dull pupil. Children must learn to speak when they have something to contribute to the discussion and to ask questions when they need help. Though the teacher cannot afford to dispense with the marking book, the answers given during a discussion period should not be marked while the class is present. The marking book should be deprived of

the mystery that often surrounds it. Each child should be permitted to see his grades and to evaluate his success.

Low marks should be given only when the child fails to master the material presented in class; they should not be used as routine punishment for inattention or misconduct. A great deal of the school maladjustment of the problem child arises from his lack of interest in an inappropriate curriculum. Low marks therefore fail to touch the cause of his maladjustment and even aggravate the problem by increasing his antagonism toward the teacher, the subject, and the school. Children have rigid standards by which they determine whether a teacher is fair; they resent the practice of withholding credit that the pupil has earned by his unquestioned efforts. Though the teacher who deducts 5 per cent from the student's grade every time he whispers to a neighbor is gratified by an immediate improvement in the attentiveness of her class, she is likely to develop attitudes in her class that lead to more difficult problems later.

The tradition that "hearing lessons" is the teacher's chief duty dies hard. In some secondary-school classes, a typical period consists of the announcement of a new assignment and of an oral examination on the work assigned the preceding day. Little time is then available for the socializing activities that are essential. There can be little developing of pupils' minds and personalities during the period in which the content and the procedure are limited to "recitation testing." Where the teacher desires to test the thoroughness of the students' preparation, a short written quiz at the beginning of the period is effective and leaves most of the class time available for discussion freed from the necessity of marking.

"Recitation testing" is inefficient as a method of teaching; it is objectionable as a mode of treating children. It deprives school work of the challenge and interest that should be inherent and makes the recitation dull and monotonous. Ordinarily the lesson is planned in terms of some definite unit of

subject-matter, while the teacher exerts little effort to provide for variation in the interests, abilities, and backgrounds of her pupils. The attitude of the pupils becomes competitive and asocial; there is little feeling that learning is a coöperative enterprise and that the class is a unit. Each pupil is concerned largely with the number of answers he can give correctly and with the mark he will receive. Usually, the only manifestation of coöperation among the pupils is the effort made by some child to whisper the correct answer to a classmate who has been called on. For all of these reasons, psychiatrists welcome any indication that teachers are evaluating more soundly the importance of marks and grades.

Overemphasis on Speed. Psychologists have demonstrated the existence of a definite positive correlation between speed scores and power scores on intelligence tests; there is a general tendency for those who respond quickly to get higher scores than do those who are slower. Some teachers, however, go beyond the proved facts and assume that speed and power are identical, that the bright child will respond quickly and that all slow pupils are dull. The school must remember that "slow" is not always a euphemism for "dull," and that some pupils can achieve considerable success in school if they are permitted to proceed at an appropriate rate.

When questions are asked in rapid succession, only the brightest pupils are able to grasp the significance of the answers. Few teachers stop to consider whether the entire class understands the answer that has been given by a pupil, or even whether the children have heard it. The teacher who comes to class thoroughly prepared appreciates the pattern of her lesson and knows that each answer she accepts has a definite place in the development of the topic for the day. However, a great many pupils may not be able to keep up with those who set the pace for the lesson; the slower pupils experience such difficulty in understanding the work that they welcome the relief of being categorized as stupid and the subse-

quent relegation to a minor part in the class discussion. Part of the difficulty can be ascribed to the teacher's acceptance of the principle that it is poor form to repeat a child's answers. Psychiatrists do not approve of the teacher who nervously repeats each answer before proceeding to the next question, but they point out that there are times when an answer deserves more than a perfunctory acknowledgment by the teacher.

Many teachers fail to distinguish between drill questions and thought questions. The drill question stresses the retention of a fact or a skill that has already been learned by the student and is usually so worded that an automatic response is possible. When the teacher exposes the flash card "8 – 5 = ?" she wants the pupil to make the correct response as rapidly as is physiologically possible. On the other hand, thought questions are designed to stimulate mental processes that are more complicated than mere recall. This type of question is illustrated by: "Why are you surprised to learn that the invention of the cotton gin increased the prevalence of slavery in the South?" "What dangers did Livingstone have to face in Africa?" and "How can you compute the amount of commission to be paid to an agent who sells $10,000 worth of stocks and charges 1/8 per cent commission?"

The distinction is a simple one, but is generally ignored by the teacher who applies to all questions the technique that is appropriate only for drill questions. Some teachers expect an immediate answer to every question and are impatient with the pupil who hesitates. Thought questions are often asked with such rapidity that reflection is impossible, and responses based on habit are made. Several unfortunate conditions follow as a result of such improper rapid-fire questioning. The ability to think a question through to its conclusion is not cultivated, and the pupils get into the slovenly habit of uttering the first thought that comes to mind. Slow children are penalized regularly by low marks and by the implication of failure at the very time that they should be helped to gain self-

confidence. The pupil who is trying to formulate an answer is embarrassed when other children raise their hands and offer a response. Marking the answers to questions the instant they are given confuses the dull pupil. The emotional shock of being called on suddenly may lead the child to forget the answer he has learned, just as surely as a physical shock, such as a blow, will confuse his thinking.

Confusion of Ignorance with Misconduct. Few children make errors deliberately. Incorrect answers must therefore be regarded as indicative of ignorance or misinterpretation, not as impertinence, and should never be ridiculed. Some replies will provoke laughter regardless of the teacher's attitude, but she must be careful to cultivate pupils' respect for the contributions made by others. The harsh treatment of students' answers complicates the problems of the dull student and the timid child by discouraging them from participating in class discussions. The use of sharp retorts makes the classroom an unnecessarily inhospitable place.

The Socratic quiz, the process whereby the teacher uses a series of questions first to make the child critical of his beliefs and then to build a correct concept, is an effective teaching device, but a dangerous one. Unless used with caution, it becomes a dangerous weapon for exposing the youngster's ignorance to the teacher's sarcasm and the pupils' ridicule.

This procedure should be employed publicly only when the misconception is basic and widespread, for example, when youngsters believe that citizens of other countries are *ipso facto* ignorant and uncivilized. It is easy enough to use the first part of the Socratic method and to convince the children of their own ignorance; the second half, the constructive or maieutic part, demands all the ingenuity and skill at the teacher's command. Unless the teacher can use the entire method, and can do so without belittling any individual pupil, she should not employ the method at all.

Although questions are essentially teaching rather than dis-

ciplinary measures, they are frequently employed as aids to the maintenance of order. This use is justifiable to the extent that they increase the degree of active pupil participation in the lesson. The teacher can thus bring many children into the discussion and revive flagging interest without administering any punishments. They are misused when the teacher calls on the pupil who has been day-dreaming and permits the others to laugh at the pupil's discomfiture. When the teacher calls on the inattentive pupil, there is no reason for awaiting his reply. His silence may invite laughter, and an irrelevant reply may lead to ridicule. The teacher who directs a question at an inattentive pupil, ostensibly in the normal course of the lesson, should pass over the incident quickly by accepting another's response, by answering it herself or by treating his silence as attributable to the praiseworthy desire not to give an answer unless one is certain of its correctness. The important consideration is that the child's attention has been returned to the lesson; it is ordinarily unnecessary to add a reprimand.

Overemphasis on Subject-Matter. When the curriculum is constructed in terms of separate subjects and the teachers themselves are selected, particularly in secondary schools, largely for their mastery of subject-matter, it is not unjustifiable for the teacher to conclude that her major problem is to get students to master the content assigned for the grade. This tendency is especially marked in secondary schools where each teacher meets so many different students daily and sees each one for so short a time that the content of the day's lesson usually is the only bond between teacher and student. Mental hygiene does not wish the school to lose sight of the subject-matter; it asks that mastery be interpreted as meaning more than the ability to repeat glibly what has been said in class.

A typical result of the erroneous interpretation of mastery is the overemphasis on drill as a classroom activity. The funda-

mental justification for drill periods lies in the need for overlearning to secure retention. The pupil who spells "friend" as "freind" can learn the correct spelling in a few minutes, but unless the new spelling is subjected to drill, planned and executed according to the results of psychological experiments, it is soon forgotten, and the child drifts back into his habitual mode of response. Adults remember the details of "Jack and the Beanstalk" more distinctly than they recall those of a novel read only a few months ago chiefly because of the amount of overlearning in the first story. Drill and overlearning are necessary as a means of preventing future errors, but they do not deserve the excessive amount of time ordinarily allotted them. The teacher can reduce the force of the psychiatrists' objections to drill periods without impairing the efficacy of such exercises.

As an illustration of the way the school can affect the child's adjustment by the hygienic conduct of prosaic drill periods and home-work assignments, these two procedures are treated here in greater detail than are other aspects of methodology.

Drills cannot teach anybody how to do anything. If one is given a sheet on which appear such equations as "$r \times h = ?$ $b \times g = ?$ $m \times z = ?$," no amount of practice will result in mastery of the correct answers unless they are known in advance or are supplied as the exercise is done. Similarly, drill alone cannot aid the child who is backward in any of the school subjects. Hence it is important that a period of teaching precede drill work. This principle is generally followed in the first presentation of a topic and is just as widely violated in drills for students who are deficient in any school subject. The child who has failed in a test is often given a page of drill exercises in the belief that the drill will remove the error. Drills cannot remove error; all they can do is to impress what has been learned. If the child has learned the wrong response, that is the one that will be emphasized by the drill exercises.

Even after comprehension is assured, drills prove useless when reliance is placed on mechanical repetition of the response. Thus, it is wasteful to have children memorize a poem line by line without their first understanding and appreciating the entire poem. Similarly, it is ineffective to have a high-school student memorize the steps in the demonstration of a geometry theorem before he has gained some insight into the situation that is described. Much of the drudgery that alienates the child's interest in his school work is the result of an overemphasis on the memoriter method. Psychologists and teachers agree that the repetition must be attentive and in the context in which it is to be used. Drill work done in the spirit of punishment is therefore inefficient as learning, as well as undesirable for the wrong attitudes it sets up. Because the subject-matter of the drill is more or less known to the children, it is not as interesting as a new lesson so that greater motivation is needed than in ordinary periods.

Where the drill is given to the entire class, individual children often spend considerable time practising connections that have already been sufficiently overlearned. By using diagnostic tests, the teacher can subdivide the class into several smaller groups, each of which drills upon that phase of the work in which overlearning is still necessary. Traditional classroom drill periods are wasteful and deceive the teacher into believing that she is providing ample opportunities for retention of what has been taught.

To secure maximum efficiency, drill work customarily proceeds at a rapid tempo. Students are required to give their responses immediately after the question stimulus. Flash cards are exposed for short intervals; questions are asked in rapid-fire fashion; and written exercises are ordinarily timed. Short periods of this nature are probably harmless, but prolonged high-tension drill periods are wearing even to a sturdy, phlegmatic child. They are more harmful to the duller pupil and

to the child who is high strung. For this reason alone, it is unfortunate that the frequency and the duration of drill periods are increased in classes for pupils who have been failed.

Drill periods should be short. The evidence adduced by educational psychologists that shorter drill periods are more efficient per minute than are longer periods, further justifies such abbreviation. Drill periods should not follow each other closely in the daily schedule. Because of the strenuous nature of a drill period, it should come during that part of the day when children are best fitted for this high-speed work. Though psychologists assert that mental fatigue is negligible in the average child's school-day and that he can do as good work at one time of the day as he can at another, consideration of the emotional strain should bar drills immediately preceding an eagerly anticipated occurrence or just after a period of strenuous work. Thus, the high-school teacher who concludes his lesson with a drill period often finds his class misinterpreting the exercise merely as a device for filling in the time before the bell rings.

The items chosen for emphasis by drill should require automatic recall and permanent retention. More frequently than teachers realize or care to admit, tradition is the sole basis for selection. How many hours are spent drilling on dates in history and on locational facts in geography? Even today there is an uncomfortably large number of students who are drilled on the definitions of various grammatical terms of whose correct use they are ignorant. It is wasteful to devote so much time to drill work with children whose intellectual equipment is so meager that they will probably not go much higher on the educational ladder. That the dull child is unfit for the intellectual niceties of a subject does not excuse our using his class time for drill on material whose very inclusion in the curriculum is hardly justifiable.

Objection is raised to drills on the grounds that they are monotonous, unduly tiring, and frequently fruitless; these

objections are overcome by having the repetition in a meaningful context. Experiments in the teaching of reading show that the most efficient means of drill is the very practice of reading. Instead of attempting to motivate the monotonous repetition of the different phonic "families" in the hope that thus retention will be assured, it is preferable to have the material *used* in such a variety of ways that meaningful repetition in context is secured. Maximum self-activity is not stimulated unless the student has been convinced that mastery of this particular bit of subject-matter is important. (First it is necessary for the teacher to convince herself that the content is significant.) This is facilitated when drill is individualized so that each child concentrates on the correction of his own weaknesses.

Knowledge of success or failure is important in drills. This involves prompt correction, not marking and grading. Drill exercises must be checked as the child proceeds in order to avoid the waste occasioned by spending time strengthening an association that is later to be changed. Most standardized practice material makes provision for the pupil's self-correction. With adequate precautions to prevent the pupil's copying the answers as a substitute for working the exercises, this procedure may well be followed by the teacher. Key sheets prepared in advance and monitors are other means of correcting papers quickly and efficiently. Whatever the method used, it is essential that the student know as soon after the response as possible, whether he is right or wrong.

Standardized tests demonstrate the improvement being made by the student and lend themselves to graphic representation. Simple line graphs, which are sufficient for depicting progress, are readily understood by children as young as fifth graders in the elementary school. Even a monotonous task becomes significant and interesting when the pupil sees its effect upon his proficiency. Where intrinsic motivation is impossible and the course of study is so rigid that the teacher

is compelled to drill on material of whose value both pupils and teacher are dubious, extrinsic motivation, such as games, contests and rivalry in groups or with one's own record, can be used to advantage.

The necessity for drill periods is conceded by both teachers and psychiatrists. Though teachers realize many of the defects of drill periods, the detached position of the psychiatrist enables him to see these weaknesses more clearly. If the teacher were to use her classroom experience more effectively, she would be able to realize the maximum value from drill periods without permitting them to deaden children's interest in their school work.

The Assignment of Unnecessary Home Work. Objection to poor home-work assignments is not based solely on pedagogical grounds. Dislike for school, with its ramifications in poor work and conflicts both within the child and with the school authorities, can often be traced partly to unreasonable home-work assignments. The student who has to stop some interesting activity to do less inviting school work, especially when it is work with which he has been generally unsuccessful and whose purpose is not at all clear to him, is being conditioned to dislike the assignment and the school it represents. With such children, failure to do the home work is frequently an early step in their revolt against school.

The conscientious child, on the other hand, devotes far too much time to home work, using the assignment as the reason, or the excuse, for avoiding the other activities, such as physical and social activities, in which he should be engaging. Physicians are divided on the question of whether the demands made by the school are excessive. Certainly, the school should hesitate to prolong the number of hours during which the child sits impassively at his books.

Home work is objectionable because it may lead to the development of bad work habits. Cheating is so easy with home-work assignments that the teacher soon has an additional

problem to solve. Freed from the supervision of the teacher, the pupil seeks only to get through with his work as rapidly as possible. The habits of carelessness and slovenliness which home work encourages are not soon eradicated, particularly when the teacher is negligent in supervising the work.

Only occasionally does home work aid the duller child to keep up with the rest of the class. He must have simplified material and clearer explanations; better illustrations will do him more good than will additional practice. Since he is behind the class in the work that has been done so far, he experiences difficulty in doing the home work. His failure is discouraging; moreover, the additional work that must be done is often misinterpreted as punishment for his inability to keep up with the class. Home-work assignments are so obvious a remedy that they mislead the teacher into thinking that the problem has been solved.

The practice of assigning home work is so nearly universal that one sometimes wonders what value it has to deserve such widespread approval. Among the more common reasons that have been advanced to justify assigning work at home is the argument that it provides the practice necessary for acquiring skill. Children who need additional drill beyond that afforded in class are asked to get it at home. Theoretically, duller children are thus enabled to maintain themselves in class. Since the ability to conduct a satisfactory drill period is developed by the teacher only after much training and experience, we have no right to assume that the backward pupil knows how to conduct self-drill effectively. Is there any assurance that he will bring to his home work the attention and the interest that are necessary if the exercise is to be more than meaningless, ineffective, rote repetition? How likely is it that the unsupervised child will be able to accomplish more at home than the trained teacher can at school?

There are subjects in which individual home practice is essential. The speech-correction teacher cannot eliminate a

child's lisp unless the lessons are followed by practice at home. Similarly, a student will never master a foreign language without supplementing class teaching with individual work. In such instances, home-work assignments are effective when students know why the assignment is made, what they are to do, and how they are to proceed.

In school, the child is a follower; with his home work he has the opportunity of working on his own initiative, argue the defenders of home work. That self-reliance is developed by the use of such assignments is questionable. In most instances, the pupil who encounters serious difficulty immediately seeks the aid of older members of the family or of friends. The assistance that is given him may be confusing when a second method of solution is presented before he has mastered the one taught in school. Not infrequently, the child returns to the teacher with new sources of error and a wider background with which to be confused. The teacher then finds herself correcting the errors not only of the students in her own class, but those made by a miscellaneous assortment of brothers, sisters, aunts, and uncles.

There are better ways of stimulating the growth of self-reliance. Give pupils vital tasks in the completion of which they are interested; let them solve the problems that arise as they work on a group problem; encourage them to work along lines of special interest; permit them to make individual and group reports on problems of general concern but in which they are particularly interested; give them a larger share in the responsibility for the good discipline and efficient conduct of the class; use discipline rather than order as the basis for the conduct of the class—these and other suggestions that occur readily enough to the class teacher offer far more promise of developing self-reliance than does the home-work assignment.

Teachers who attempt to discontinue home-work assignments soon discover that it is really the parents who demand the continuance of the practice. One group regards it as a

simple substitute for supervising the child's leisure activities at home. Others see it as a visible means of judging the child's school progress. But most parents rarely use the home work to check the child's achievements. It is the unusual parent who inspects his youngster's work daily. Even if this were the rule rather than the exception, are there no stronger bonds between school and home than the home work? How little it tells of the school's aims and of the ways in which the home can coöperate in attaining the common goal!

Most of the advantages that have been claimed for home work follow only when the assignment is planned and administered skilfully; there is no indirect value of home work that cannot be realized more effectively by other means. The work done at home therefore takes on significance when it is worth doing for its own sake. The English teacher who has her class read a good book, the civics teacher who arranges for students to visit governmental agencies at work; the foreign-language teacher who asks the pupils to listen in on a given radio program; the elementary-school teacher who suggests that her children examine the daily newspapers for true incidents that can be used in a project on "Everyday Heroes" —these teachers are assigning worth-while activities even though they don't bind the home and the school. The greater the maturity of the students, the more varied are the activities that can be suggested. Hence home work is more important in colleges than in secondary schools and is more significant in the high schools than in the elementary schools.

Class instruction of necessity seeks a common basis on which to organize the school work. This limits the amount of attention that can be given to the special interests of individual pupils. The trigonometry instructor cannot make many applications to navigation, for that would bore most of the class. Similarly, the history teacher pays little attention to the development of art, and the English class discusses music only occasionally. Yet these may be the very applications that will

attract some of the students. The home-work assignment is a convenient means of adapting the curriculum to individual interests, a modification warmly recommended by mental hygiene. *Jean Christophe* may not be an appropriate novel for the high school, but it fascinates the intelligent high-school senior who looks forward to a musical career. Since large classes complicate the process of making individual assignments, this procedure is recommended where the students' interests are pronounced and are known to the teacher. It is useful also as a method of arousing the indifferent student to the possibilities of the subjects being studied. Properly employed, differentiated assignments need not foster premature specialization; they use the special assignment as a means of broadening the student's interests.

If the teacher is to use the class time for presenting differing points of view, for interpreting content and demonstrating its applications, then the students must get the factual background elsewhere. Socialized recitations are fruitful when students bring with them a rich background. Otherwise, the discussions degenerate into mere talk or become disguised lectures. With secondary-school and college students, it is often advisable to have the actual studying done before a class, so that the teacher is spared the necessity of having to present the content orally. Assignments for home study free the class period for more meaningful activities. For home work to serve this purpose, it can be used only after students have been shown how to study effectively. So long as they interpret "study" to mean either "skim" or "memorize," the teacher will still have to spend most of the time repeating explanations that should have been mastered at home. It is the home-work assignment that teaches the pupil to use library facilities and to gather data on a given topic. Though the routine assignment has little to commend it, the task that challenges the pupil will help some students develop the ability to work in-

dependently and to keep working until the solution has been found.

Home work in itself is neither good nor bad; the specific assignments that are given will determine whether the expected advantages are to be realized. Before the assignment is made, the teacher must decide whether it is necessary. The answer should be dictated not by tradition or on any ground other than that of the necessity for the students' doing that specific piece of work at home. The assignment should be given only to those children who will profit therefrom. In many instances, this will involve giving individual assignments, and, in others, the elimination of the assignment.

The task must not involve abilities that the children do not have. In the lower grades, where the children are incapable of working out a new topic without supervision, it is desirable to limit home work to practice or other activities involving material already taught in class. When the child is asked to study a new topic or to master a new skill, the teacher must see that the child has the abilities needed for mastery.

The assignment must be specific and definite. "Review the results of the Industrial Revolution" is illustrative of the many vague assignments still given by teachers. The task can be simplified by having the teacher supply an outline by topics and subtopics or a series of questions which can be used by the child to guide his study. Certainly, the pupil must understand the assignment before he can complete it successfully. It should be couched in language that is comprehensible to him and that is free from unusual or difficult words. Where the work involves a new procedure, the process should be explained before the children are asked to do the work at home.

Matters are simplified when the teacher foresees the problems involved in correction before she sets the task. To permit days to pass without checking and correcting the work done by the pupils is to encourage habits of slovenliness. By omit-

ting the correction, the teacher admits that it was unnecessary to have given the assignment. The duty of checking homework is often onerous and warrants assigning home work with a view to ease of correction. Instead of having the children answer essay questions, the teacher substitutes questions of the short-answer type. In the course of the class discussion, the answers are elicited or given. The children then exchange papers for correction, precautions being taken to shift the pattern of exchange daily in order to prevent the formation of permanent "understandings" between any two pupils. Longer assignments should be given infrequently, unless the teacher has the time or the assistance necessary for careful and prompt supervision.

Children must understand the reason for the request that they do this work at home. It is therefore advisable to have the assignment announced during, or near the end of, the period in which the basis is laid. As an illustration of this type of assignment, we take one given in a junior high-school history class. The pupils have been discussing the various inventions since the Civil War, and the class is now ready for a review exercise. The question is asked, "If we were going to honor the inventor who has done most for his country and for the world, which of these men would you choose for that honor?" Various names are mentioned, and a difference of opinion arises as to who should be chosen. The assignment then follows. They are to think of the various men whose inventions have been studied this term. Each child is to come to school the next day with his nomination for the honor and with a list of the reasons for thinking his choice to be more important than the others'. Illustrative answers are given, and the pupils are advised to consider all the men before making the choice. When considerations of class management suggest that the assignment be announced as the class convenes, it should be referred to again at the appropriate time during the period.

Home work is not limited to drill material. Children may be asked to collect pictures illustrative of the topic studied; to read a story relating to the material being discussed in class; or to attempt to find a solution for a problem that is interfering with progress on the class project. It must follow that home work is never to be given in the spirit of punishment and that children are never excused from the work except for such excellence as renders the additional work unnecessary.

Home work should be planned so that the burden does not seem unreasonable in length to the student. When the quality of the work done in class makes only a short assignment necessary, little additional work should be called for. This practice of abbreviating demands when the class does excellent work affords additional motivation for them to reach that level again. When differentiated assignments are made, the teacher must be careful that students do not feel they are being punished when home work is given. Before holidays the assignment is reduced. Little is to be gained from the student's illusion that the teacher is interested only in school work and is immune to the appeal of extra time for holiday activities.

Much of the drudgery of home work arises from the unnecessary inclusion of written exercises. Teachers who discover their students slighting assignments that call only for study, assume that written exercises are the solution. The cause of the child's practice is often to be found in his inability to study. Here a series of lessons on the art of study is more helpful than is the demand for written work. A short, informal quiz in class will test mastery and industry more effectively than does the routine prescription of written exercises.

With home work, as with most other phases of classroom procedure discussed in this chapter, there is essential agreement between the good teacher and the mental hygienist. The maximum value of home-work assignments can be realized without going to the extremes to which the psychiatrist objects.

There are numerous other flaws in methodology that are condemned by both educators and psychiatrists. Thus both groups deplore an excessively teacher-dominated classroom, where the teacher is overconscientious and pupils are denied the active participation which is a prerequisite for learning. It is unnecessary to inveigh against the use of routinized methods of teaching which ignore differences in pupils' aptitudes and interests, and all can see how the child's emotional problems are complicated when the school-day is devoted to the presentation of work that is too difficult for the class to comprehend or to master. Psychiatrists approve of every attempt made by teachers to help their pupils realize the significance of the task that confronts the class and to employ methods of teaching so interesting and stimulating that the children enjoy progressing toward the goals that are set.

EXAMINATIONS

Where examinations are overemphasized, there is unnecessarily excessive emotional and physical strain for both teacher and pupils. The teacher who is interested in her students' emotional health cannot help being disheartened by the extent to which classroom examinations are regarded as ends rather than as means. Examining the values and the limitations of school examinations suggests a plan for getting the optimum benefit of examinations with a minimum of abuse.

The Limitations of Current Examinations. Viewed in the proper light, examinations are not awe-inspiring; they are merely classroom periods set aside for taking inventory of pupils' achievements. Yet they are often conducted with such ado that they assume a position disproportionate to their importance.

No experienced teacher finds the "promotion test" an adequate basis for deciding whether a pupil is to be sent ahead to the higher grade. The numerous classroom exercises given throughout the term offer a more valid indication of the pu-

pils' attainments. Why then should students be led to believe that success on examinations is more significant than is success in the daily work? The greater the importance attached to an examination, the more difficult it is for the student to prepare for it properly and to do his best. When the stress of examinations becomes so great that children are beset by worry, the examination loses its value even as a measuring instrument.

Only those who have taught under such circumstances appreciate the strain endured by teachers working under the direction of unsympathetic supervisors who use the results of classroom examinations as the chief means of rating teachers. It is small wonder that teaching is subordinated to coaching and that emphasis is placed on those items in the curriculum that are likely to become examination questions. The teacher who sees the examination as directed at her rather than at her class cannot judge calmly when children are not exerting what she considers adequate efforts at mastering the content. The stage is then set for the almost hysterical efforts of the teacher who misinterprets lack of interest as impertinence and stupidity as misconduct. She then threatens, scolds, punishes, coaxes, drills, and coaches,—in short, she does everything but teach. The feeling of security, without which teaching and learning are difficult if not impossible, is seriously jeopardized by this uncritical overemphasis on examinations.

Examination schedules are prepared with too much attention to administrative facility and too little to considerations of pupil health. In secondary schools, and even in some elementary schools, it is customary to set aside a few days each semester exclusively for examination purposes. Where a child has three or four examinations a day for several days at a stretch, there is considerable physical strain in preparing for these tests and in working at full speed during the examinations. In one of our states, the state-wide examinations given to high-school students are so arranged that it is common for

many children to spend five hours taking two examinations the schedule for which conflicts. For these students no time is allowed for lunch and whatever moments these children snatch for recess purposes reduces the time they have for the examinations. There are even some children who spend seven hours taking three examinations consecutively; these children are allowed only a half hour for lunch and relaxation. There is no medical or educational justification for subjecting adolescents to such intensive strain.

From the practice of concentrating examination periods, it follows that the correction of these papers must also be done within a very short time. The burden of the clerical work in reading and grading the test papers and the mathematical labor of treating the results statistically constitute a large part of the unnecessary drudgery of teaching. These activities take up so much of the teacher's time that social activities are curtailed and the only intellectual exercise taken by teachers is that offered by the daily grind of preparation for class. Teachers would have more opportunity to develop the well-rounded personalities they desire and need, were they freed from the overwhelming drudgery involved in the blind worship of examinations and marks.

The mark is often confused with the condition of knowledge and ability it is expected to represent. The child, and often the teacher, feels that if only the grade is satisfactory, he need not worry about the factors responsible for the grade. Pupils learn to volunteer when they know the answer and to maintain a scholarly silence when they are ignorant (of course, looking disappointed when the teacher calls on another student). Cheating is condoned, and cramming is regarded as a necessity. In the effort to pass examinations, the acquisition of knowledge and the development of skill are secondary.

Examinations often play a decisive part in the actual construction of the curriculum. In practice, the content of examination papers is more influential than the course of study.

This condition would not be especially objectionable were it not for the fact that examinations generally stress facts and skills at the expense of attitudes and interests. In geography classes teachers take the point of view that they are concerned more with the people of a country than with the rivers and mountains. The child usually reacts to human and social geography with the interest and sympathy that corroborate the psychological soundness of the newer methods of teaching geography. Then comes the examination, and the pupil is asked not for his attitude toward the caste system but for the name of the principal river in India. The child concludes that it is the cities and the rivers and the mountains that are important, not the people, their customs or their civilization. This distortion results from the fact that attitudes are not as easily measured as are facts. The overemphasis on examinations, therefore, causes a misinterpretation of curricular demands.

Entirely too much time is being given today to testing and to grading the results of such examinations. When the attempt is made to convince teachers of the desirability of group instruction, or of individual creative work in art and literature, all too often the reply of the schoolman is that he has no time for this. How many worth-while phases of education are slighted in order to save time that is later used for examinations! Were we able to release some of the time and energy wasted in unnecessary examinations, we should then have removed one of the basic obstacles to the introduction of newer curricular materials and modern methods of instruction.

The elimination of examinations is not the panacea for modern educational ailments. With present educational systems, examinations are both necessary and desirable. It is not the examination that is objectionable so much as is the way in which it is sometimes misused. Properly understood as educative and not as punitive or inquisitorial instruments, examinations have a legitimate function in the school.

What are the values of examinations? They enable the school to measure the effectiveness of the teaching by allowing children to set down their responses undisturbed by the prompting of the teacher or the glances of the class. Tests measure the progress of individual students and facilitate the diagnosis of special weaknesses. They offer a center about which the teacher may motivate a review of old material before proceeding to the new. In a system where marks and grades must be given, tests offer a more reliable and valid basis for grading than would otherwise be possible. They make possible the comparison of the achievements of pupils, classes, and methods of teaching. Nevertheless, none of these values makes it necessary or desirable to use the examination as a weapon.

The Proper Use of Examinations. Examinations should be given when needed and not as dictated by the calendar. When the teacher thinks it desirable to have fairly definite information of the level of children's achievements, the examination can be used. After an important section of the term's work has been completed, both teacher and pupil see the desirability of checking the progress made. Where the aim of examinations can be achieved without giving a special test, obviously the examination should be omitted.

Examination papers should be used rather than filed. Merely grading an examination paper is an inadequate treatment of the exercise. It is preferable to have fewer tests but to use the results of those we do administer. Not only should students be shown the errors that were made, but they should be given the remedial exercises that will eliminate the source of the error. This remedial treatment is impossible unless teachers reduce markedly the number of comprehensive examinations they are to correct and interpret.

Frequent, short, and informal exercises are to be preferred to a few, long, formal examinations. The use of short quizzes is recommended because they involve less mental and physical

strain for both teacher and class. In many instances, the class need not know that the teacher regards the particular exercise as a test of their ability. The possibility of their worrying over the outcome of the examination is thus reduced.

The amount of attention paid to mere percentage results should be reduced. The "passing mark" has become almost a fetish in American schools. Why should the passing mark be fixed arbitrarily at 60 per cent, 65 per cent, 70 per cent, or 90 per cent? It is impossible to predict the difficulty of a test. In some examinations, 65 per cent is a low grade, while in others of apparently equal difficulty, the same grade is comparatively high. An inflexible standard for passing makes it difficult to adjust the level of the work to the child's ability. With a fixed curriculum, there are some children who have reached a practical limit when they have mastered 50 per cent of the content in a given subject. Further gain is possible only at the cost of time and energy not in proportion to the value of the additional improvement. On the other hand, the abler child is lulled into smugness, for he finds it easy to be satisfied so long as he is assured of a passing grade in all his subjects. To set numerically different standards for passing grades for the children in the same class arouses resentment both from the superior and the inferior. The same purpose is served without undesirable concomitants if for percentages is substituted the more helpful list of individual weaknesses with suggested exercises for overcoming them.

Much of the strain of preparation for examinations can be relieved by having the reviewing done in class as part of the regular work of the day. The necessary reviewing and drilling are more effective when they are led by the teacher or at least are done under her supervision. If she plans to use the examination as a measure of her efficiency, it is certainly desirable that the test be given without any special opportunity for cramming. Reviews can be motivated without using the examination as a constant threat.

Classroom examinations should not be used as the chief basis for rating teachers. The discredited and discarded English system of "payment by results" does not deserve imitation. There are many indices of teachers' effectiveness that are more valid than are examination results. So long as these tests are used to rate teachers, we shall continue to have undue teacher strain. Much can be done to free teachers from the obstacles to progressive teaching merely by substituting other measures for the classroom examination as an index of the teacher's merit.

CHEATING AS A SCHOOL PROBLEM

Cheating is caused more by the school situation than by the child's emotional maladjustment. Most pupils cheat for reasons other than emotional unrest, and cheating can be reduced without improving the youngster's ability to meet the other problems he faces. It is closely associated with other school offenses only because the pupil who cheats frequently violates other school regulations as well. Though emotionally upset children cheat, perfectly healthy pupils do, too. To attach great significance to cheating as a symptom of emotional instability is unwarranted, for the same children who cheat in one teacher's room don't think of doing so in another's. It is indicative rather of the child's failure or unwillingness to meet the school's demands—the dull pupil cheats more often than the bright one does—and of unwholesome or inefficient class practices.

The reason for the minor significance to be attached to cheating as an emotional problem is that children do not think it wrong to cheat. They do not see what harm is done, since even the teacher is pleased by the higher marks. Youngsters distinguish between cheating in sports and cheating on an examination, for they understand how one team may lose the game because the other team cheated. To them dishonesty in examinations may be dangerous, but not wrong.

Children distinguish between giving information on an examination and receiving it. The youngster who refuses to aid another is soon ostracized by the other members of his group. Punishing the child who gives information isn't altogether justified since, in his own mind, he is doing something that is noble. The teacher should encourage the bright student to tutor the dull pupils and then explain the purpose of the examination as an attempt to discover individual weaknesses, as a teaching rather than a testing measure. The school can get at least surface agreement with the idea that the one who gives information is hurting rather than helping his friend. Recognition should be given to him for his good intentions, but he must be helped to find expression along more acceptable lines.

Reducing the Prevalence of Cheating. As long as the school thinks wholly in terms of individual success and uses marks as a major incentive, cheating cannot be eliminated. It is another result of excessive individualism and competition. The impression that marks are the goals of school work must be weakened by the attitude taken by the teacher. Stress should be laid, not so much on the mark that a pupil receives on a given exercise, but rather on the weaknesses disclosed and on the methods that may be used to overcome the indicated deficiencies. A great many exercises need not be marked at all, although they are corrected. The child can be led to perceive that teaching and learning are interacting processes, and that the goals of teachers and pupils are often identical.

To tell the child that his grade for the entire month will be influenced largely by the test he is to take the next day, is to tempt him to cheat. When marks are used, the monthly average should be based on a series of tests instead of on the monthly test. Exercises can be marked without announcing to the class that they have been graded. A cross-section taken at random is a more valid test of children's ability than is an examination for which special preparation has been made.

Children cheat less in activities that are significant to them than they do in exercises that seem to be purposeless. Widespread cheating is therefore indicative of an inappropriate curriculum or of students' inability to see its value. By explaining the purpose of various school exercises, the teacher can reduce the prevalence of dishonesty. Though it is often possible for the teacher to make minor adjustments in the course of study, a thoroughgoing reorganization is necessary to adapt the curriculum to pupils' needs, interests, and ambitions.

To be significant to children, a comprehensive program of character education must be planned in terms of the ethical situations they confront in their daily lives. The classroom then becomes a laboratory for the study of right living. Cheating is discussed as one of the misapplications of general ethical principles. The gradual introduction of a modified honor system is often an effective method of eliminating one of the causes of cheating by attaching social approval to honesty rather than to dishonesty.

The teacher can foresee and eliminate opportunities for dishonesty. Home-work assignments should call for more than merely mechanical responses. Pupils should be supervised while they work at classroom exercises. The inefficient examination proctor invites cheating, while the teacher who boasts of her ability to detect cheating virtually challenges her class to cheat. The effective conduct of an examination reduces the incidence of cheating. Where the congested classroom necessitates using double seats for children, two or more forms of the examination should be used. Short-answer questions are advisable only where each pupil has a separate copy of the examination. To dictate the questions or to write them on the blackboard wastes time and facilitates cheating.

Usually cheating is only remotely associated with problems of emotional stability, but the teacher cannot dismiss the possibility that dishonesty on examinations may be indicative of a fundamental difficulty in adjustment. Cheating is particu-

larly significant when the pupil persists in cheating even when the exercises are relatively unimportant or when he fails to respond to the classroom procedures that are effective with the others in the class. Frequently the child who cheats also manifests other behavior abnormalities. Where cheating is linked with personality difficulties, the teacher's attempts at correction are doomed to failure unless she succeeds in helping the child to solve his emotional problems. As the basic difficulties are corrected, cheating will disappear along with the other symptoms.

For the teacher to fill her important rôle in the emotional adjustment of her normal pupils adequately, she must modify the classroom procedures which interfere with her pupils' emotional health. The procedures enumerated in this chapter are not an exhaustive list of undesirable classroom practices, but they do indicate the type of methods to which the mental hygienist objects. The remedies for the specific weaknesses referred to in this chapter have already been indicated. The outlook for preventing these and similar errors necessitates a positive program of methodology, to which the next chapter is devoted.

Problems for Study and Discussion

See questions at the end of Chapter XV.

Bibliography

See references for Chapter XV.

XV

METHODS OF TEACHING THAT FACILITATE ADJUSTMENT

The teacher can do more for the wholesome development of students' personalities by being a good teacher than by being a poor psychiatrist. Any method of teaching that affords pupils the satisfaction of being successful in their school work and that reduces the emotional shock of failure is thereby instrumental in achieving emotional adjustment. The present chapter continues the discussion of the influence of methods of teaching on pupils' personality by indicating procedures which improve the students' personal adjustment.

TYPICAL TEACHING PRACTICES THAT EMBODY THE PRINCIPLES OF MENTAL HYGIENE

Regarding Pupil Failure as a Challenge, not an Offense. The penalty for the pupil's failure to meet the school's demands is so severe that any change which reduces the frequency of failure offers the hope of diminishing a common and serious menace to the pupil's health. Reteaching, drill periods, reprimands, additional assignments, and retardation are often insufficient because they fail to touch the causes of the youngster's inability to succeed at school.

The individual classroom teacher can do little for the pupil who fails in practically all his school work. These children need a reorganization of the curriculum that embraces more than remedial instruction. For years psychologists labored to convince educators of the importance of mental inferiority as a cause of school failure. They have been so successful that

many teachers, apparently considering defective intelligence the only cause of failure, overlook the influence of other mental, social, emotional, physical, and pedagogical factors. Among the other causes of failure are the following: lack of interest in schooling, physical handicaps that reduce the amount of energy available for learning or that lessen its efficiency, emotional instability with attendant inner conflicts that distract attention from the work at school, and unsatisfactory home conditions. So deeply rooted are these factors that modifying methods of teaching does not mitigate their harmful effects.

The teacher who is chagrined to discover that students who do well in other classes fail in hers, cannot hope to correct the condition until she has discovered the basic causes. Obviously, defective intelligence is not the explanation, for in that case the child would be at a loss in his other classes as well.

Failure to do the work of the class may be the result of a special disability—for example, word blindness. To remedy such a disability, the child needs psychological treatment, for which the classroom teacher is inadequately equipped. A thorough and competent psychological examination is therefore suggested where the child does poorly in one subject and does not respond to the more usual class remedies. However, investigations indicate that special disabilities are comparatively rare and that most cases of school failure can be helped by changing the teacher's procedure.

Physical disability impairs school proficiency by reducing the energy available for work and by interfering directly with the learning. A pupil with an auditory defect may not hear all of the teacher's explanations and the child with a spinal disorder may not be able to sit still long enough to master his assignments. A physical limitation handicaps the student in most of his classes, but may be particularly disabling in one or two subjects. Thus, the pupil who is slightly deaf may do

less effective work in elocution or in spelling than in mathematics. Since physical defects are common among retarded pupils, it is advisable for the teacher to examine the medical records of her failing students.

The school curriculum is generally an omnibus where everything is carried in the hope that each child will find something that is of value to him. Thus, every elementary-school pupil studies arithmetic, history, geography, spelling, nature study, etc. The youngster whose background or vocational plan makes one or another subject meaningless to him is nevertheless required to study that subject. Relating the subject to the child's special interests by individual assignments is often helpful.

The phenomenal growth of enrolment in secondary schools has attracted to the college-preparatory courses many students who are so unsuited to the work that they soon lose interest in its more academic phases. Educational and vocational guidance, parental education, and the expansion of non-academic high schools are needed for these students.

Lack of interest is sometimes a pose deliberately assumed by the child until it becomes a lasting attitude. The high-school student who is interested in art may be so devoted to that subject that he neglects the others which contribute little to his career. On the other hand, he has heard artists speak deprecatingly of science and mathematics and has come to believe that good artists must be emotional rather than scientific, and of course they can never learn mathematics. He consequently feels it to be part of his training in art to fail regularly in mathematics and science. Many high-school failures may be helped by a personal talk during which the teacher tries to make conscious and understandable the student's bias. If the teacher can convince the youth of the folly of his attitude and, perhaps, of the assistance this subject can be to him in his chosen career, the necessary interest may be aroused.

The high-school English teacher frequently finds his boy students prejudiced against poetry, which is associated in their adolescent minds with nursery jingles and girls. The school must recognize this attitude and by the selection of the poems and the methods of teaching used help the students conclude that an interest in good poetry is not an exclusively feminine trait.

In some families, the tradition has grown up that they are "mathematically minded" and hence incapable of doing good work in the social sciences. The young radical may feel it incumbent upon him to fail in his health-education course and thus prove that he is a true member of the "intelligentsia." These prejudices must be understood if they are to be removed. If necessary, individualized assignments or modified methods of teaching can be used to win the pupil over to the attitude that mastery of the subject is not a disgrace or a violation of ideals.

Another cause of pupil failure is to be found in the teacher's personality. The child who dislikes his teacher seldom exerts himself in her class. This attitude may arise even when the teacher herself is not at fault. A low mark at the beginning of the term, a teacher's manner or mannerism, an unpleasant encounter with a classmate—any one of these elements may cause the child to react negatively to the teacher. At times, the child identifies the teacher with some other adult to whom the youngster has an aversion and he then transfers to the teacher, perhaps unintentionally, the hostility he feels toward the other person. The instructor who allows his class much leeway may be disliked by a pupil because his method differs from that of the youngster's former teacher, and the student who has been accustomed to one method of teaching may not be stimulated by another.

Other pupil failures are the result of poor teaching either during the current term or in the past. The child whose early teacher of reading was inefficient may develop difficulties

which, if not recognized and removed, interfere with later success. Such a disability influences his work in other subjects, such as history, in which success frequently depends largely upon the ability to extract thought from the printed page. Studies of high-school students reveal the presence of many pupils whose reading ability is as low as that of the middle grades in the elementary school. Diagnostic tests should be administered periodically to indicate the disabilities before they become serious.

Most school failure is the result, not of some fundamental and irremediable condition, but of a specific deficiency in subject-matter, information, or skill. Thus the child who cannot estimate the trial quotient in long division not only fails in his long-division examples, but is also hampered in any of the more advanced work in arithmetic which involves long division. This is where diagnostic testing is promising; it takes such meaningless and hopeless expressions as "deficient in arithmetic" or "failed in written composition" and substitutes a list of specific weaknesses for which the school can prescribe remedial instruction.

The teacher who regards pupil failure as a challenge and who then proceeds to correct the causes of the child's difficulties, helps the child to profit from his work. As a valuable by-product, she achieves a happier teacher-pupil relationship which is of inestimable worth in alleviating maladjustment in school. Still more important is the development within the pupil of a feeling of confidence and security that strengthens his ability to withstand the other emotional stresses he encounters. Such teaching is a positive force for improving the student's emotional stability.

Interpreting the Effect of Teaching Procedures on Students' Personalities. The teacher cannot ignore the effect her procedures have on her pupils' personalities. Even without making a detailed study of her students' backgrounds, she can alleviate some cases of social maladjustment, at least to the ex-

tent of reducing their classroom manifestations. Though it is obvious that no classroom procedure is adequate for treating a genuine mental disorder—good teaching cannot be substituted for psychiatric study and treatment—there are a number of children who are helped immeasurably by good teaching technique. When the cause of the child's maladjustment is near the surface, sympathetic teaching may be all that is necessary for effecting the child's better adjustment.

Classroom discussion aggravates the plight of the timid child when the teacher permits a few pupils to monopolize the discussion. Honors go to the student who is self-confident and aggressive while the shy youngster is permitted to retreat to the background. If the ability to think on one's feet and to participate in a discussion is worth cultivating, is the school not in error when it denies such practice to the children who really need it?

What can be done with the child who is so timid that he rarely participates in the classroom discussions? The complete answer involves an understanding of the factors that operate to keep the child from volunteering. Aside from fundamental emotional, physical, and social factors, the more common causes of classroom timidity are as follows:

The children come from classes where free discussion was not stimulated so that they are not ready for the new responsibility.

The pupil, accustomed to failure, is unwilling to invite it by volunteering in class.

The child has volunteered in the past and still remembers distinctly, or perhaps subconsciously, the unpleasant remarks of the teacher or the laughter of his classmates.

The youngster may suffer from a speech defect, or he may still have the timidity resulting from an early speech impediment that has since been cured, and is therefore unwilling to talk in class.

He may suffer from "stage fright" at the prospect of speaking to the entire class.

The student feels that the entire class is already familiar with his contribution, and he need not say it.

The child considers himself too big, too old, or too clever to participate in the discussion.

The student may be so far above the level of the class that the problems that appeal to the rest of the class are too simple to stimulate his thinking.

He may not have anything to contribute to the discussion.

To advocate a single cure for these different conditions is patently unwise. It is the teacher's duty to analyze the condition, to see how much of it is caused by the poor questions asked, her own attitude, or the uninteresting content of the discussion, and then to discover the other causes that lie at the root of the student's reluctance to take part in class activities.

The ability to participate in a worth-while discussion is one that must be developed carefully. The child should be encouraged to believe that the comments made in class are not graded, but are accepted as being honest expressions of opinion. At first, simple questions are asked, singly and not in a series. By laudatory comments, the teacher gives the impression that she is pleased by the answers. Her whole attitude should be one of respect for the children's personalities and their mental attainments. Gradually, more and more of the burden of carrying on is placed on the pupils' shoulders. The daily program should be so arranged that discussion periods do not often appear in succession. Though almost every period may involve some discussion, too much of it in a day tends to make discussion uninteresting and fruitless.

The outcome is dependent upon the degree to which the teacher succeeds in encouraging the growth of the child's feeling of self-respect to the point where he is willing to speak voluntarily. Of course, all of his responses must be treated in kindly manner and the errors corrected without any trace of humiliation. In the attempt to get more children into the discussion, it is preferable to concentrate upon no more than two or three children in a period. To include too many such pupils in a lesson stifles the freedom of the discussion and reduces the pace. Timidity in class is only one aspect of a

more general personality trait and will be cured as the student's outlook becomes a happier one.

Stella, a ten-year-old pupil in the fourth grade, was referred to the school mental-hygiene committee because she was: "Very retiring, extremely quiet. She does not volunteer answers in class and does not play with other children." The family background was good and her work and conduct marks were excellent. Her I.Q. was 111. The teacher appointed Stella leader of playground games and made a definite attempt to induce her to speak freely in class.

In the course of the lesson the teacher asked her a question any answer to which was tenable. During a geography lesson she was asked, "Do you think you could be happy if you had to live in Africa?" The response called for is a simple one and need cause even the most timid child little embarrassment. Whatever answer is given can be commented on favorably by the teacher. "It would be difficult for us to learn to like Africa," or "It certainly is interesting to move to so different a place," or "We really can't tell how we would like it," would be acceptable. Stella responded by shrugging her shoulders. The children were then asked to tell why one didn't know how pleasant or unpleasant life in Africa could be. Probably for the first time in her school career, the girl was treated to the sight of the entire class working on an answer she had given, a flattering situation. Stella was then asked which of these reasons she had in mind when she expressed her opinion Since many possible answers had just been suggested by the other pupils and were still on the blackboard, it was not difficult for her to offer an appropriate answer even though she may not have had any definite thought in mind when she first responded to the teacher's question.

This procedure was followed for several days until Stella grew accustomed to speaking in class and to having her answers taken seriously by teacher and pupils. About a week later, after an easy question had been asked, the teacher looked at the girl in an encouraging and expectant manner till the youngster sensed the teacher's belief that she had something worth offering to the others.

By procedure similar to the one indicated, by asking simple questions and by treating all replies as intelligent even though not wholly correct, the teacher can bring many children to the point where they are ready to coöperate in the social enterprise of learning. That the teacher will vary the procedure in accordance with the child's individual needs is taken for granted.

The egocentric child is another type of behavior-problem child who can be helped by a modification of the methods of teaching.

The classroom problem presented by the egocentric child is well illustrated by the case of Alex M., who was in a fifth-year class in the elementary school when his attitude toward the class compelled the teacher's attention. Of him the teacher reported: "He does not submit to school routine. Wants the 'center of the stage' at all times. Allows himself all sorts of privileges without permission. Conduct in gymnasium very annoying, exhibits poor sportsmanship." Alex is a bright boy with an intelligence quotient of 117. The family background is excellent; his father is a dentist, and the mother, a college graduate, devotes much time to the boy. For several years Alex attended a private school; today the youngster has a good library and brings all kinds of maps and instruments to school. The teacher concedes that the youngster has a great fund of knowledge.

What can the teacher do for Alex and for others like him? In this instance, the teacher first interviewed the father, who bespoke the co-operation of the home. Then she spoke with the child and tried to convince him of the desirability of respecting the rights of others. She explained why a teacher cannot permit a few pupils to take up the entire period and how the teacher tries to stimulate the other children by drawing every one into the discussion. He was praised for his scholastic attainments and was asked not to feel slighted when the teacher ignored his raised hand and called on some one else. Alex was intelligent enough to see the justification for the teacher's attitude. The boy was allowed to gain the attention he was accustomed to, but by socially approved means. He was made the curator of the class museum and was given an opportunity to report to the class on the growth of the collection. By permitting him to tutor several of the duller pupils, the teacher not only solved the immediate conduct problem, but managed to inculcate pride in the modest improvements of his protégés. Note that the teacher did not resort to sarcasm or to any other form of punishment. Instead of viewing his misconduct as a series of separate offenses, she succeeded in facilitating his adjustment by opening new channels for his fundamental interests.

The teacher's treatment of Alex indicates that the manner in which the teacher conducts the daily recitations can be used to modify children's social adjustment. When she regards her class solely as individuals and belittles group achieve-

ments, she finds tattling a nuisance and a discussion period a series of individual exhibitions.

One weakness of the discussion method is in evidence from the kindergarten right through to the university. Classes are so completely teacher-centered that students ignore the comments made by their classmates and attach importance only to the summary and the remarks made by the teacher; in fact, an idea developed through the socialized recitations may be quickly forgotten. It is not unusual even with mature classes to find students repeating what others have said or offering an answer that is tangential. The lecture method has been criticized because it involves so little activity by the listener. Yet, poor discussions are often equally useless as a stimulus to mental activity. The teacher notes the logic of the questions and appreciates the skill with which she has had the students utter the thoughts that less skilful teachers find they themselves must give to the class. The class, however, is busy on the more individual and less important problem of presenting the first thought that comes to mind.

It is the teacher's task to find some means of dignifying the responses made by the pupils so that the rest of the class will attach to them the importance they deserve. The more important questions and answers can be listed on the board so that they form an outline of the lesson. At the end of the period the answers are recalled, and the children are permitted to write their own answers as influenced by the lesson. The teacher can comment favorably on an answer that has been given and, without repeating the words of the pupil, add to the growing impression that the really important factors in the lesson are the statements of the children themselves. Often, the practice of not marking answers during the recitation period reduces the exhibitionism of individual students and emphasizes the social nature of the activity. For the teacher to dismiss answers with a perfunctory "Right" or

"Thank you" is to give the impression that they are immaterial or insignificant. Answers offered by the pupils can be subjected to further class discussion. At first the major questions can be written on the board and children encouraged to evaluate the relevance of the answer. However, unless the teacher's manner is itself indicative of a sincere regard for the efforts made by her class, all of these devices will fail to lead children to respect the contributions made by their classmates.

The teacher's manner and her classroom procedures can do much to reduce the incidence of another manifestation of emotional unrest—day-dreaming. Classroom day-dreaming, the inattention of the child who sits idly gazing into space, is disliked by the teacher as implying a criticism of her methods of teaching. The pupil who is continually inattentive is therefore ridiculed and punished until he either learns to look attentive or creates a more serious problem. Day-dreaming as a normal mechanism of adjustment[1] cannot be eliminated by the teacher, but she can reduce the amount of day-dreaming in the classroom.

There are a number of factors that stimulate day-dreaming in class. First is the normal fluctuation of attention. Attention fluctuates even among adults. For the child's mind to wander, even during a brief period in school, is perfectly normal. When the day-dreaming is occasional, nothing need be said to the child. For habitual day-dreaming, more than a mere reprimand or other form of punishment is necessary. The child who is much given to day-dreaming is likely to be the timid child, the inferior child. At least he thinks of himself as being inferior. The ridicule of the teacher and the laughter of the class will tend to make him retreat still further into the refuge of reverie.

Methods of teaching influence the amount of day-dreaming. Day-dreaming is not as prevalent in a lesson calling for much pupil activity as it is in a lesson during which the teacher doe

[1] See p. 29.

the thinking and the acting. Many a teacher who has been lecturing on the background for a given situation in history has encountered considerable day-dreaming, particularly among the older and the duller pupils. Even mechanical writing or reading does not prevent day-dreaming; the work that is done must require the child's active thinking. Day-dreaming is popular in an arithmetic lesson where the children are apparently busy writing, but where the work has been so habituated that the child's mind is free to wander away. The lesson whose content is far removed from the child's life does not hold his interest. As a rule, there is less day-dreaming in an oral composition lesson devoted to the topic of whether children should be kept in school half an hour longer and then be excused from home work than there is during the discussion of "The Chief Industries of Our City."

Since the pace of the period is set by the average pupil, the superior student, as well as the inferior one, often finds the work insufficiently challenging. The bright child considers much of the school work repetitious. He can succeed without being attentive while the material is explained over again and reviewed for the duller pupils. He therefore thinks of his hobby while the teacher is telling, for the fourth time, how the cotton gin made slavery profitable. On the other hand, repeated school failure convinces the dull child that he cannot succeed in school. Realizing that he is not going on to high school and to college, he loses interest in the academic curriculum. The dullard is thus likely to be inattentive and to day-dream because he feels that he will learn nothing and certainly will not be conspicuously successful.

The anticipation of a pleasant event that is to come soon after a lesson is an inducement to day-dreaming. Teachers do well not to announce in advance unusual and attractive variations from the school program. By putting the most attractive and innervating lessons near the end of the day's program, the teacher can reduce the drop in attention that precedes dis-

missal. The practice of announcing the imminent end of the session by clearing away paper and other materials encourages the youngsters to think of their play activities and not of the work at hand.

The child's emotional adjustment is sometimes the basic cause of his day-dreaming in class. The timid pupil who is continually browbeaten by his classmates dreams of the ways in which he will get the respect of the others. Day-dreaming is his only consolation; in his imagination he wins the encounters he loses in the real world. The child of oppressive or quarrelsome parents may reënact the early morning scenes at his home. The youngster who feels persecuted either at home or in school may seek relief in phantasy. Thus, any deep-rooted emotional disturbance can dominate the child's mind so completely that he cannot fix his attention on the class work.

The treatment of day-dreaming in the classroom must vary according to the cause. The teacher may well consider the amount of day-dreaming a measure of the effectiveness of the instruction and of the appropriateness of the content. The school cannot command attention by asking for it. The pupil may learn to look at the teacher instead of out of the window, but it is easier to focus the eyes than the mind.

Provision must be made for more active pupil participation in the daily lessons. Learning is essentially an active process; only by self-activity does the student learn at all. A lesson that makes little demand upon the child's active attention is therefore not likely to be instructive. The story method of teaching history must be interspersed with questions and intervals of discussion if the children are to be kept actively attentive. If questions are to stimulate mental activity, they should be addressed to the entire class, not merely to a few children. Discussions should not be confined to a small part of the class. Rote repetition, even though manual, ought to be motivated so that the child strives to do his best.

Children learn as a result of what they do; only indirectly

are they benefited by the teacher's activity. The conscientious teacher is sometimes so overwhelmed by the amount of subject-matter that must be covered that she works hard, too hard, at the task of teaching. All that her pupils are required to do is to listen attentively and to follow directions. Yet few teachers have ever succeeded in developing abiding interests and the capacity to appreciate except by stimulating their classes to activity. Mental hygiene therefore views the growing emphasis on students' creative work as a wholesome influence on the development of integrated personalities.

The timid child must be helped to succeed in social competition. The child who has not been outstandingly successful may be aided by being appointed to a position of responsibility in the classroom and by winning respect of the group for his work and authority. The school must strive to instill a conviction that there are some things he does do quite well. Some teachers follow the practice at the end of each large unit of work of having every child make a list of those activities in which he thinks he excelled. Other classes have clubs, teams, and honor rolls by which means almost every child is given an opportunity to achieve some sort of recognition. The teacher's sympathy and judicious use of praise are also effective.

The day-dream can be given educative value by having it "lead on to further activity." The habitual day-dreamer must be encouraged to do something to realize his ambitions. Asking him to write an original story may encourage him to set these imaginary experiences down on paper. English teachers know that most of the stories written by young children center about themselves and about the experiences they would like to have. Thus the pre-adolescent writes detective stories in the course of which he, or rather his detective, solves the baffling mysteries and brings the villains to justice. The adolescent writes of the hero who saves humanity by finding the cause of the mysterious disease that was decimating the population. He writes athletic stories in which the touchdown is scored in the

last minute of play by the freshman whose true ability had not been recognized. Here the teacher is using the day-dream as a means of developing power of expression that is so valuable intellectually and socially. By asking the pupil to translate his day-dreams, she makes it possible for him to look at them objectively. As he attempts to find ways for his hero to win the desired goal, he may see possible solutions to his own problems. Other day-dreams can find their expression in musical, artistic, or mechanical activities. Properly used, the day-dream does not end in reverie, but is translated into action.

Above all, the child should not be led to believe that his day-dreaming is at all queer or unusual. The teacher must not talk to the youngster about his absent-mindedness or give him the impression that she looks down upon him because of the day-dream. The teacher who asks, "Now what are you thinking of?" or "Are you enjoying your trip with the angels?" leads the child to feel ridiculous and eccentric. Day-dreaming is best treated by removing the causes rather than by reprimand or even by discussion. The pupil who day-dreams continually is untouched by the suggestions that have been made above. A fascinating lesson holds his attention for a while, but the effect soon wears off. Only a careful study can reveal the appropriate remedy.[2]

Stressing the Significance of the Task. The teacher who is convinced of the value of her work has little difficulty in conveying that attitude to the class. Though not all her students will incorporate that attitude into their thinking, it nevertheless helps set the tone for the class work. The general feeling that all are engaged in a worth-while undertaking gives the school work an air of purposefulness it does not otherwise have. In such a classroom, the feeling of security and the sense of achievement make it unnecessary to rely on extrinsic motivation. Conversely, the disappointed physician is often an

[2] Chapter V indicates the procedure to be followed when the teacher makes such a study of an individual pupil.

uninspired biology teacher, and the history teacher who thinks he should have practised law usually lacks lustre in the classroom.

The departmentalization of secondary-school instruction has raised the level of teacher preparation in the various subjects, but it has also introduced undesirable specialization. Many students leave school with mastery of unrelated skills and facts which they fail to integrate into a rounded education. The teacher who is interested in her pupils' development can foster the interrelation of the separate subjects in the curriculum. There is no reason why children should use one type of speech in the elocution class and another in other classes. The English teacher need not confine the compositions to the traditional themes; the assignments made by other departments offer vital topics for treatment. The work done in the mathematics classes gains in interest and significance when applications are made to the sciences. Subject lines are not sacred; they were made to be crossed by competent teachers.

If the school is to socialize the child, it must first socialize the class recitation. The pupil must be led to realize that learning is a coöperative process. This end can be gained by the use of group projects, committee reports, group and not individual rivalry, and by basing the class work on discipline rather than order.

THE INFLUENCE OF PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION ON EMOTIONAL ADJUSTMENT

So many of the educational practices objected to by mental hygienists seem to be inherent in the traditional curriculum-centered school that psychiatrists are interested in every attempt made by educators to free the school from outworn customs and practices. It is therefore to be expected that mental hygienists should evaluate the experimental forms of education which have come to be known as progressive education.

The choice of the term *progressive education* to denote the various experiments with a child-centered school and a curriculum based on activities is not a happy one. On the one hand *progressive* is an evaluative rather than a descriptive adjective and gives no real picture of the aims and the practices of these schools; on the other, it implies the stigma that those who do not subscribe to this educational creed automatically stamp themselves as not being progressive.

A number of the modifications introduced by the progressive schools are so definitely related to technical problems of school administration, curriculum construction, and methods of teaching, that the psychiatrist is neither willing nor able to evaluate them. Yet some of the changes that have been made do touch phases of school work which influence the pupils' adjustment. Typical of such changes which engage the psychiatrists' attention are the following:

Traditional Schools	*Progressive Schools*
1. The fundamental principle of the traditional schools is that it is possible to classify adult needs and to prepare for them by teaching separate subjects.	1. The fundamental principle of these schools is that the best way to prepare a child for a useful adult life is to have him live a useful, complete child's life.
2. The curriculum is based on individual subjects, each one of which is taught as a unit, with correlation of subjects considered to be an advantage rather than a necessity. It is primarily a knowledge and skill curriculum.	2. The curriculum is built about unit experiences, each one of which may involve a number of the traditional subjects. It is primarily an activities curriculum.
3. The motivation arises theoretically out of the realization that the material will be needed by the child in his later life. In practice, extrinsic motivation is used more often than intrinsic motivation.	3. The motivating force is generally the child's present interests and needs.

4. The school day is centered about the curriculum. The day is divided into separate periods, each devoted to the teaching of one school subject. Grading is based chiefly on mastery of units of the curriculum.

4. The school life centers about the present child, his needs, his interests, his activities.

In intent, the progressive schools are in sympathy with the mental-hygiene point of view.[3] The progressive school's emphasis on the needs of the individual child is certainly in accord with the proposals made by mental hygienists. However, the degree to which progressive schools have succeeded in applying the mental-hygiene point of view to education has not yet been measured objectively. Dewey notes: [4]

> There is no absolutely scientific objective evidence to support the view that behavior problems are relatively more common in progressive schools than in traditional schools, or that the former are less successful in straightening out those that do arise from the latter.

Yet, there is no evidence that the progressive schools are superior in either of the two respects to which Dewey refers.

In many instances, the advocates of progressive education found that the existing curriculum was so completely out of harmony with their aims that they simply discarded all that had been accumulated and began afresh. As a result, many of

[3] Dr. Kilpatrick, who has played so important a rôle in formulating the educational philosophy that finds expression in the progressive education movement, voices this agreement: ". . . The older school gave its major attention to the formal course of study and shut its eyes to these attendant learnings.

"Our school does exactly the opposite. It emphasizes human personality. If there is any first part in him [the child], it is perhaps his 'mental health,' that he might be a wholesomely integrated personality. . . . So far as in us lies, our school shall have no inferiority complexes, no day-dreaming, no refusal to face reality."—W. H. Kilpatrick, "The New Point of View in Education," *Journal of the National Education Association,* Vol 20, No. 4 (April, 1931), p. 134.

[4] J. Dewey, "Why Have Progressive Schools?" *Current History,* Vol. 38, No. 4 (July, 1933), pp. 441–448.

the gross inadequacies of the present curriculum have been eliminated and a new curriculum built that is more in harmony with the needs and the interests of child life. For the old study of factual history, locational geography, and structural civics, progressive education has substituted courses in world problems that unite these subjects functionally. Formal arithmetic periods are replaced by project activities in which arithmetic is taught as the need for its mastery arises. This modernization of the curriculum has eliminated some of the sources of maladjustment inherent in a curriculum that is out of touch with the child's life. Applying this point of view to the traditional schools may do much to help the maladjusted child.

The newer curriculum, being closer to the child's needs and interests, provides better motivation. Less frequently is it necessary to use high-tension, extrinsic appeals when the work itself is vital and interesting. Project activities lend themselves to social participation and thus tend to reduce the excessive individualism common wherever reliance is placed on marks and competition. This social activity also reduces the possibilities of individual failure since it is the group that is at work, not merely the child. Moreover, the project usually involves so many different types of activity that each child can contribute on his own level and along the lines of his special interest.

The increased emphasis on the child's importance in the educative process has led to a flexibility of organization conducive to improving teacher-pupil relationship. It is comparatively simple to adjust the school to the needs of the child when the pressure of an arbitrary curriculum is removed. With child interest as a basis of school work, classroom activity often takes its direction from the questions and problems of the child, who therefore feels freer to bring them into the open.

The dignity of the teacher has been enhanced by the free-

dom to be found in the progressive schools. The departure from the curriculum-centered point of view has relieved the teacher of much of the drudgery of the traditional school. This change has also freed the teacher-pupil relationship of much of the tension that accompanies the teacher's attempt to force an unwanted curriculum upon dull or indifferent minds. Teachers in progressive schools are a little more likely to enjoy the thrill of teaching. Whether this change in the teacher's position is inherent in the philosophy of progressive education or whether it is the result of the smaller classes and superior student body often found in the early progressive schools cannot be finally determined until the distinction between the progressive school and the public school has disappeared.

The discipline of progressive schools is more natural than is that in the traditional schools. There are fewer arbitrary restraints upon the child's actions, and the power of social pressure is relied upon to curb social misconduct. The emphasis upon freedom through self-control facilitates the healthful integration of the pupil's personality.

The comparative absence of marks and grades with their unpleasant consequence of formal promotions and retardations, frees the child from one of the major causes of maladjustment arising out of the school situation. Though stupidity is not excused in progressive schools, it is not publicly branded and punished. Progressive schools are willing to accept the assumption that children are not equally gifted in all directions and that the school exists to give to each child the necessary environment for attaining his maximum development. The child is not labeled "failure" because he is uninterested in the more academic aspects of the schoool.

In many respects, then, the progressive schools indicate how modifications of the traditional school's organization can improve the pupils' emotional health. Yet, the mental hygienist sees several limitations of progressive education. Desirable

though it unquestionably is to have the older curricula evaluated and revised, the newer curriculum may present other difficulties. The movement is still too young to demonstrate how well it helps the child adjust himself to the life outside the school. The student who leaves the progressive school to attend the traditional college or university faces problems unknown to the student who comes from a more formal secondary school. It has been asserted that the graduates of progressive schools are inclined to be self-centered and self-assured, convinced of their ability to do anything and to be willing to trust to the mood of the moment rather than to the needs of the situation. One college professor refers to the standardized personality to be found among the students of progressive schools and alleges that for the mass production of the traditional schools the progressives have substituted merely another pattern. Only time and careful investigations can tell whether the progressive schools do facilitate adjustment.

The emphasis placed by some experimental schools upon the pupil's freedom to participate in project work on his present level of ability may be a barrier to the removal of his deficiencies. The youngster finds it perfectly comfortable to draw, if he likes drawing, or to do the manual work if that is where his interest lies. As a result, he is too busy to spend much time attempting the things he cannot do or is not interested in doing. Though there is good reason to rejoice in the feeling of success that attends his working along lines where he is competent, the child is too young to be permitted to work as though his interests are so specialized that efforts along other lines are unnecessary. The psychiatrist is therefore gratified to see that alert teachers, both in progressive and in traditional schools, attempt to spread the range of the child's activities without introducing the elements of coercion and drudgery. Much that is done at first as a mere assignment leads to genuine interests later on.

The outlook for the progressive-education movement would be irresistibly favorable were we free to anticipate a constantly changing education to keep pace with the constantly changing social world. Unfortunately, the "progressives" of today too often becomes the die-hards of tomorrow. We speak of the conservatism of old age when it is usually nothing more than the liberalism of the youth who has refused to keep step with the moving world. The history of education supports the pessimistic conclusion that every revolt against formalism ends in formalism as unbending as that of the school is supplanted. So it was that the educational freedom of the Renaissance led to the development of Cicerionianism, and even the teachings of Rousseau degenerated as they were applied in the Philanthropinum of Basedow. Will progressive education, too, become formalized?

From the point of view of mental hygiene, many of the virtues of progressive education follow from its youth. It has the adjustability of the adolescent and is willing to adapt its practices as it goes along. Will the hardening that is typical of senility result in a new formalism? Signs of the "sclerosis pedagogicus" are already in view as schools adopt the devices of progressive education and not its underlying philosophy and basic principles. There is the teacher who selects the project, plans it, and assigns to each child the part he is to play in its completion. As the procedures of progressive education are adopted by large school systems, the child-centered curriculum may be standardized, with children promoted or retarded according to their success in passing the examinations that are set. And we shall have the same problems of child maladjustment.

In the meantime, the teacher need not wait until the whole school system has been converted to the ideals of progressive education before she introduces its spirit into the classroom. Though the organization of the traditional school does interfere with the operation of a classroom based on more pro-

gressive principles, individual teachers have introduced some of the more fundamental aspects of progressive education. Even in the most formal of schools, there can be social learning through group projects, with a larger share of the time given to ideas rather than to words, and with the educational process looking to the child's present life as well as to his later needs. To achieve progressive education in a traditional school is difficult but not impossible.

This survey of methodology and class discipline does not exhaust the possibilities of influencing pupil adjustment by the very procedures employed in teaching. It suggests what the teacher can do within her own classroom. The teacher who is sympathetic with the mental-hygiene approach to education often feels that there is nothing she can do until far-reaching reforms take place in the school system. But she will find no change in organization to be as significant as a change in her own attitudes. Mental hygiene will find its expression in education, not when it is imposed from above, but when it is applied by teachers in the classroom.

Problems for Study and Discussion

1. The history teacher in a small high school speaks very softly in class. However, she penalizes severely any pupil who answers a question incorrectly because he "didn't hear the question." Her class is always attentive but tense, because of the strain of trying to hear her every word. The students leave her class feeling rather exhausted; they tend to let off steam in the next period Thus the teacher who gets the students after the history period finds them tired, inattentive, and ready to giggle nervously on the slightest pretext.

a. What should be done by the teacher whose class has just come from the history room?

b. What should the principal do?

2. In an academic high school which has attained a reputation for its high scholastic standards, one of the modern-language teachers discontinued the practice of marking the students' recitations. He soon found that his students came to class more interested but not as well prepared as formerly. The students explained that they re-

ceived such lengthy assignments in their other classes, where they were called on and marked frequently, that they felt compelled to slight their language assignments.

Should the modern-language teacher resume the practice of marking the students' recitations?

3. A bright eighth-grade girl stuttered rather badly when she answered a question in class. She was therefore called on rarely by the teacher and almost never volunteered an answer. One of the teachers noticed that the girl spoke fluently in ordinary conversations and therefore concluded that the girl needed encouragement and practice in speaking to a group. After speaking with the girl and her classmates, the teacher offered this student every opportunity to recite.

Within a few months, this girl became one of the most enthusiastic students in class and participated in almost every discussion. However, she still stuttered rather badly, and the teacher often found the lesson lagging while the girl laboriously made her contribution. The other students became inattentive and restless, but not disorderly, as this girl spoke.

What should the teacher do?

4. A junior-high-school civics teacher devoted almost all of the class periods to a rapid-fire oral quiz on the assignment for the day When the principal criticized this practice, the teacher attempted to justify it by pointing out that her class was always attentive and that her students always were far above the median for the school whenever uniform examinations were administered.

What should the principal do?

5. An elementary-school teacher required no home work of those pupils who received high marks on their monthly tests. One of the duller pupils, who usually had assignments in almost all subjects, complained that the reason he failed his tests was that he had so much home work to do that there was no time left for study. Both the pupil and the teacher know that there is little justification for the complaint; the child is merely annoyed that he has to do home work from which his classmates are excused.

Should the teacher make any concessions to the pupil?

6. A high-school English teacher invited her first-year students to submit poems and stories they had written at home. One of her students then submitted as her own composition a poem by Edna St. Vincent Millay. The girl is a conscientious student whose work ordinarily reflects more industry than intelligence.

How should the teacher treat the incident?

7. Robert, a bright fifth-grade pupil, brought to his geography class a map which he had drawn of North America. It was a good reproduction of the map in the textbook. There is too little educa-

tional value in this type of activity to justify his spending the many hours it must have required. Robert felt pleased when the teacher praised the map and displayed it on the bulletin board. The next day he appeared with a map of the United States, and the third day, with a map of South America.

Robert is a frail chap who should be spending his time playing with the other boys instead of copying maps.

How can the teacher redirect the boy's activities without seeming to be unappreciative of his attainments as an amateur cartographer?

8. An elementary-school teacher called for the parents of one of her pupils who was failing in arithmetic. The mother appeared at school and seemed to take the child's failure as a matter of course. She explained that neither she nor her husband had ever been able to master mathematics; in fact, mathematics was the only course in which she had been failed at college. The mother then went on to say that she thought the school was overemphasizing arithmetic and that her son could get along very well in life even if he didn't know how to divide one fraction by another.

How can the teacher modify the parent's attitudes and the boy's attainments?

9. R. C., a conscientious, bright senior in an academic high school, worries so much about her succeeding on her final examinations that she frequently is absent from them because of illness. As examination time approaches, R. C. stays up late studying. She loses her appetite and suffers from insomnia. For the past two terms, she has missed all her regular examinations because of illness.

Which lines of inquiry should the teacher pursue in order to get at the causes of the girl's behavior?

10. A brilliant young industrial chemist, who lost his position when his firm disbanded its laboratory, has accepted a high-school position. There he treats his pupils as though they were his laboratory assistants. He does not see why he need explain any process more than once and is contemptuous of his student's immaturity. Most of his class time is given to two or three keen students who display special aptitude for science; he does not think it worth while to bother with the others. The students respect their teacher for his scholarship, but they dread going to his classroom.

What can the head of the department do to improve the situation?

11. In your high-school mathematics class, you have L. N., a fifteen-year-old girl, who has always been a quiet, conscientious student. After having been absent for two weeks, she returns to class and sits there staring blankly out of the window. When called on, she answers listlessly and then sinks back into her seat In the study hall, she sits with an open book before her, but it is obvious that she isn't reading it. This "shut-in" behavior has been exhibited for almost a month when

you learn that the girl's absence was caused by her mother's death after a long torturing illness.

What should you do now?

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XVI

THE MENTAL HYGIENE OF THE TEACHER

"It is folly to suppose that we can carry on the education of the child apart from the education of the teacher."[1] Nowhere is this statement more nearly true than in the field of mental hygiene. The teacher, like all other men and women, has her personal problems. She may solve them wisely or not at all, but in either case, her method of solution affects her personality and is reflected in class. The teacher's mental health is thus influenced by her own development as an individual, as well as by her success in overcoming the special menaces to emotional stability inherent in the nature and the organization of school work.

The mental hygiene of teaching has not received the objective investigation it requires. The number of valid, thorough, and objective investigations is seriously limited. Consequently, we have only incomplete answers to such questions as the following: "To what extent does the teaching profession attract particular types of personality?" "Are teachers more susceptible to nervous and emotional disorders than are other members of the general population?" "Which types of emotional disorders are common among teachers?" "Does teaching present any special hazards to mental health?" "Are there any preventive measures of known efficacy that can be adopted?" "To what extent does the teacher's adjustment influence that of her class?" Obviously, a thorough program of

[1] J. Dewey, *The Educational Situation,* Contributions to Education, No. 3 (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1902), p. 37.

research is needed for a better understanding of the problems involved in the teacher's mental hygiene.

After studying 700 maladjusted school teachers, Mason arrived at the following conclusions: [2]

> Teaching as a profession did not seem to be the direct cause of the psychoses.
>
> Teachers were committed to hospitals at an earlier age than the general psychopathic population.
>
> There was a higher percentage of unmarried teachers than of married ones, 61 per cent of the men and 81 per cent of the women being unmarried. This is not surprising in the case of women, since the majority of women school teachers are unmarried.
>
> The psychoses most prevalent in the group were dementia praecox and manic-depressive psychoses. Paranoia seemed to rank higher in the teacher group than among maladjusted people generally.
>
> Since heredity seemed to be an important factor in the psychoses of their group, some consideration might be given to family history in the selection of prospective teachers, especially at this time when the country has such a large surplus.
>
> In diversity of interests and in the possession of those traits that make for a well-rounded personality, this group of teachers was particularly lacking. School systems could be of assistance here by giving teachers more leisure for outside activities and freedom from too strenuous duties in the classroom, so that fatigue would not interfere with physical activities after school hours. Particularly should teacher-training institutions encourage participation in varied activities other than teaching which the student could carry over into his teaching career.
>
> An intellectual status of above the average was not effective in producing emotional control, as evidenced by the large number of difficulties arising from problems of sex.

Apparently teachers are not especially subject to psychoses. Fewer data are available relative to the incidence of minor mental ailments among the teaching group. It is probable, though not certain, that the nervous strain of teaching, with the overwork and worry commonly accompanying it, is not without its effect on teachers' mental health, even though the condition may not be serious enough to lead to hospitalization.

[2] F. V. Mason, "A Study of Seven Hundred Maladjusted School-Teachers," *Mental Hygiene*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (July, 1931), pp. 576–599.

PROBLEMS ARISING FROM THE TEACHER'S PERSONALITY

Introversion. Investigations disclose that experienced teachers, on the average, manifest a greater degree of introversion than do new entrants to the profession. In the absence of definite data, there are three plausible explanations. First, extroverts find teaching unpleasant and leave it for other types of work. Second, since modern schools place greater emphasis on personality development than did older schools, there are fewer extreme introverts among recent graduates. The average normal-school graduate would therefore be less introverted than the average experienced teacher. Third, the teaching profession may exaggerate the introversion tendencies of its practitioners. There is, at present, no objective evidence to indicate which of the three explanations is correct.

Moderate introversion is no more objectionable than is moderate extroversion, and extreme introversion is no less objectionable than extreme extroversion. In fact, success in teaching requires introvertive traits. The problem presented by marked introvertive traits among teachers is not one of safeguarding the teacher's sanity or even that of inducing a definite change in her personality. The teacher of children should have a rounded personality expressing itself by the cultivation of diverse interests. Her free time should be concerned not merely with books and ideas, but also with people and things. It is therefore the teacher's problem to manage her personal life to provide for both types of activities.

Wider social contacts are necessary for the teacher who is to retain a desirably fresh outlook. The amount of clerical and routine work required of the teacher must be reduced to a minimum to allow sufficient leisure time for the cultivation of outside interests. When necessary, she must set about deliberately to develop a circle of friends and acquaintances, particularly among those who are not teachers.

Self-Criticism. Like most intelligent persons, the teacher is likely to be too self-critical. Such questions as "Am I successful?" "Why don't I feel happy?" "Why don't my pupils love me the way I used to adore my teachers?" and "Why does my principal always ask some one else to serve on important committees?" easily lead to unnecessary self-reproach. Self-criticism is useful only when it is the basis for self-correction. The teacher should not be smugly contented with her present characteristics, but she must recognize the existence of a point beyond which mere self-criticism cannot take her. She must admit her own limitations and attempt to adjust her ambition to her capabilities. "Divine discontent" is an attractive phrase; it is also a handicap to the attainment of robust mental health.

If the teacher is to lead a happy life herself and to aid her students, too, to enjoy a full life, she must retain a sense of proportion. A sense of proportion is even more important than a sense of humor, for humor without proportion laughs at conditions that demand sympathy, understanding, and help. The teacher must be wary of exaggerating her insight into the background of human behavior till she misunderstands her own and others' actions and wonders why Mr. R—— invited her to the theatre and what hidden machination led little Bob to offer to wash the blackboards. Wholesome personality is not attained by worrying about it or by excessive self-analysis. "It is only by losing one's self that one finds one's self."

At times the teacher should forget her knowledge of mechanisms of adjustment and be just a normal human being. And when politics or intrigue deprive her of a promotion she deserves but won't stoop to grab, let her weep or swear at politics and intrigue and go to see a good play, instead of indulging in excessive self-analysis. At times like that one sees not reality, but only its most discouraging phases. After the initial shock of disappointment has worn off, there will be time enough for clear thinking and for formulating a more

positive plan of correcting what seemed at first a hopeless situation.

Fallacious Sense of Values. So much of the teacher's time is spent with children that she may easily grow arrogant and domineering unless she is sensitive to changes in her personality. One rapidly becomes accustomed to instant and unquestioning obedience and forgets that children are individual personalities whose wishes must be considered. Within the four walls of her room the teacher is a despot whose word may not be questioned, and few people can be despots gracefully. Freed from the challenge of constant criticism, she develops points of view that are unjustifiable. Who has not met the English teacher who judges people by their success in using "shall" and "will" correctly, or the elocution teacher whose speech is so meticulously overexact that the listener hears enunciation and pronunciation instead of ideas?

There is always the danger of pettiness. Formal education pays much attention to the minor virtues, often without appreciating that they are only minor virtues. It is disillusioning to sit in the principal's office and to see how unimportant are many of the offenses for which children have been excluded from class. If the teacher regards pupils as whole personalities, she asks of herself, fairly often, "What of it?" when viewing children's conduct and misconduct. She must not become indifferent to children's misconduct, but she must never forget that if a pupil heads the paper incorrectly or goes up a "Down" stairway he may violate school regulations, but these acts need not indicate moral lapses.

Pettiness often expresses itself in other ways. Every experienced principal has encountered the "complaining" teacher who always feels that she is being imposed upon. Why are disciplinary cases always sent to her class? Why is her register always larger than Miss C's? Why must she put on three assembly programs when Miss W. is asked to do only two?

The most effective safeguard for preventing a fallacious

sense of values is a full life that is rich in the many outlets it affords the teacher's interests and energies. The teacher's social life is an effective antidote to pettiness. She should get away from children and schools and see how other people of intelligence and discrimination view the school's standards. She should be interested in the development of some particular youngster from the home's point of view—if not her own child, then a nephew or a young neighbor—so that she can see the narrowness of a school that regards children as pupils and not as children. Within the classroom, the teacher should avoid a dictatorial rôle. Adopting the progressive point of view, by focusing attention on the child instead of the curriculum, assists the teacher to view pupils as individuals.

Monotony and Lack of Challenge. "Teaching is a dull job and an inspiring profession." The teacher who views her work merely as a job soon finds that it presents no challenge. After a term or so, she has a complete set of lesson plans and at the same time finds herself comparatively free from problems of discipline. The absence of challenge easily leads the teacher into a rut. The teaching that follows may be satisfactory as judged by the usual standards of supervisors, but it is unsatisfying and does not contribute to the teacher's growth.

Various devices have been suggested for relieving the monotonous aspects of teaching. Some teachers destroy their lesson plans at the end of each term. Other teachers change their approach each semester. Thus the history teacher uses biographies extensively one semester and then emphasizes the historical aspects of current events the next term. Sometimes the teacher can vary the content of the course and still satisfy the demands of the curriculum. The English teacher, for example, uses different short stories and composition topics each term. A few teachers find stimulation by conducting experimentation within the classroom. The type of preparation can be changed each semester. Since no teacher has ever mastered

completely the subject she teaches, she can then devote each term to her own detailed study of one part, in the meanwhile calling upon her general background for the remainder of the course. Thus, even a teacher assigned to the same grade of an elementary school need never lack new worlds to conquer if one term she devotes part of her free time to a study of children's literature, another term to a study of the customs of the countries she teaches in the geography classes, a third term to a survey of current research in American history, etc. Yet, these devices will not stimulate growth unless they are accompanied by a desire for growth. Really professional leadership by supervisors is, therefore, far more effective than is any device mentioned above. Of course, the person who teaches children instead of subjects never lacks challenge, for her pupils change from term to term, and their personalities grow from month to month.

Excessive Mental and Nervous Strain. The layman rarely appreciates the physical and emotional strain in teaching. Even the stolid teacher finds herself becoming annoyed and irritable. The person who is tense and high-strung suffers still more. Children's energy and ambition are delightful when one is fresh; they become unbearable when one is tired. Add to this the strain of clerical work, of getting the stated percentage of children to pass the tests, of keeping versed in the special interests of the unusual children, and of dealing with the problem pupils, and it is small wonder that the conscientious teacher is exhausted by her day's work. When the teacher is high-strung to begin with, the emotional strain of teaching is harmful to her and to her class.

Remedial measures are available. She can plan her day's work so that she has periods of comparative relaxation. For the tense teacher, the lunch period and other recess periods should not be spent in clerical work. Such teachers must learn to take mental "cat-naps" during the day by some sort of re-

laxing activity or inactivity. It is unfortunate when an inadequate salary and burdensome obligations necessitate her holding an additional job after school hours.

These are merely palliatives. The solution necessitates guiding the overtense teacher out of the profession. It is cruel to discharge a teacher whose nervousness is the result of her sacrifice to her work. The school must view this condition as an occupational disease and should provide for retirement on a disability pension rather than for discharge as an incompetent. A more hopeful approach lies in the careful selection of new entrants. The normal schools and colleges owe it to the student herself not to permit the unusually tense person to continue her preparation for teaching. Boards of education must consider not merely the scholastic attainments of the prospective teacher, but also her emotional balance. Since there is no single test that can be applied for the detection of the potentially high-strung teacher, we shall have to rely upon the integrity of the appointing board not to distort this evaluation of personality into a circumlocution for selecting teachers for political or other unworthy reasons. When the young teacher is appointed, her supervisors should see that she is not continued in her position unless her emotional control is sound.

The policy that has just been advocated is kinder to both the teacher and her class. The high-strung teacher should be guided into other fields of work to which she is better adapted and that are better suited to her. This guidance should come early enough for her to make the necessary personal adjustments. It is only a blind, maudlin sentimentality that permits her to ruin her life in a profession for which she is ill-adapted. The success of this policy depends wholly on the good judgment of the administrators. Present knowledge of personality growth is so inadequate that they cannot be certain of the wisdom of their decision. Many a teacher who is strained and unhappy in one situation improves markedly when she is shifted to another school or to another type of work. Where there is

any doubt, it should be resolved in the teacher's favor. But when there is no longer any question, there is only one honest course of action for the teachers college or for the public-school system. Above all, this person should not be given the impression that she is queer, erratic, emotionally unstable, or potentially insane. She may be none of these and yet be undesirable as a teacher. For her sake, she should be spared the shock of a label that is probably incorrect and certainly harmful.

PROBLEMS ARISING FROM THE TEACHER-ADMINISTRATOR RELATIONSHIP

Exaggerated Importance of Administration. A desirable teacher-administrator relationship is second only to a sound teacher-pupil relationship as a factor in the teacher's emotional health. The confusion of means and ends in education is often evidenced in the administrator's attitude toward the teacher. The school's chief work is helping the child to educate himself. The teacher is only one of the agents who guide and encourage this process. Supervision and administration should be subsidiary to the teaching process; it is the work of the school administration to facilitate and to improve the learning activities that go on in the classroom. Yet schools are administered as though the organization and the administration of the school are all-important.

In one school, a principal discontinued an experiment with the Dalton Plan, conducted by several of his abler teachers who were willing to devote the additional time and energy entailed, because it was more difficult to locate individual children when needed by the office. Another teacher was asked not to use the project methods because she could not show that the number of minutes devoted to the separate subjects of the curriculum followed the time-allotment plan drawn up by the administrative office.

Educators seem to assume that it takes a higher order of

intelligence to plan teachers' programs than it does to inculcate a love of literature or to give high-school students an appreciation of the economic and social problems confronting our civilization. So far as salary schedules go, generally the less personal the relationship to the child, the higher the remuneration. Thus classroom teachers receive less than principals, and superintendents are paid highest of all. As a result, a selective process operates to lead the more capable teachers to seek advancement outside the classroom. The process of pupil adjustment is relegated to a less important position.

Undesirable Teacher-Principal Relationship. Fear is as unsatisfactory a basis for the teacher-administrator relationship as it is for the teacher-pupil relationship. The supervisor need not be a "hail fellow well met" who is ready to tolerate indifference and inefficiency. Nevertheless, the running of the school should be a coöperative enterprise in which teacher and principal work together. Failure on the part of the children in the class must be looked upon as a school problem and should not be interpreted as being solely the result of teacher inefficiency.

The capable supervisor tries to improve the quality of the learning process. His visits to the classroom must not be solely inspectional, for the purpose of rating teachers. In the typical classroom, the entry of the principal is the signal for extraordinarily careful behavior. The children straighten up, and only the young exhibitionists dare to participate in the recitation. The teacher, too, is on her guard and calls upon the more reliable children. She finds that two can play at the game of inspection, and the lessons she gives are those which are least likely to reveal unsatisfactory classroom situations.

In the conference between teacher and principal that follows this visit, the attitude of the teacher resembles that of the child who is up for reprimanding. She tries to justify what happened in the classroom and to gloss over defects which may have been noted. The principal, on the other hand, makes a

written note of the suggestions that he makes and the faults that he finds. This is kept on file so that should anything go wrong in the future, he has the evidence that on a given date he did suggest a remedy. The whole atmosphere of the visit is wrong since it assumes that it is the principal's duty to evaluate teachers rather than to assist them.

Need for Respecting the Teacher's Personality. The growing concern with the needs of children's personalities sometimes obscures the fact that teachers, too, have personalities to be respected. They, too, want the sense of achievement, the satisfaction of having their attainments recognized by others. Principals, like teachers, tend to take faithful work for granted. As a result, most of the criticism that comes from the superior is likely to be adverse. The teacher thus gets a false impression of failure and of being unappreciated. The principal must be as ready to commend as he is to censure.

The teacher must feel that she has her principal's support in her dealings with pupils and their parents. She should not be rebuked in the presence of a pupil or a parent. Even when the teacher is wrong, it is often possible for the principal to explain the case to the parent from the teacher's point of view. There will be ample time later for the principal to talk with the teacher. There is no reason why the principal cannot be tactful and considerate of teachers' sensitivities.

The Teacher's Sense of Responsibility. With teachers, as with children, the ability to take responsibility can be developed only by affording opportunity to exercise this trait. In many schools, the teacher is given the impression that all major problems are solved by the office and that she is to do merely the journeyman's work of carrying orders into effect. Questions of policy are decided by the administrators, and it is considered bad taste for the teacher to suggest changes. Even minor questions involving only a slight degree of discretion are settled by general orders. An examination of some of the regulations of school systems reveals them to be almost as de-

tailed as a city charter. There seems to be general fear among supervisors that teachers are queer and irresponsible and must not be given any great share in the determination of school policy.

Too often, changes in educational procedures are made from the top down. The curriculum is revised by a committee appointed by the superintendent, and the fundamental philosophy is "determined" by a board of education on which the teacher has little if any representation. Unless the teacher accepts these changes whole-heartedly, the educational process remains unchanged regardless of all the resolutions passed by boards and all the orders promulgated by supervisors.

If the school is interested in developing children's initiative and the ability to shoulder responsibility, it is necessary for the pupils to have teachers who themselves have the traits in question. Why must teachers be deprived of initiative and responsibility? A visit to progressive schools is often surprising to the teacher who comes from a traditional school. The policies are frequently determined by the teachers in conference, and the routine work of the organization is reduced to a minimum. Teachers in such schools have a refreshing interest in their work; the "schoolma'am" is less often found. With freedom to experiment in the classroom comes the desire to experiment and to try out new ideas.

PROBLEMS ARISING FROM COMMUNITY ATTITUDE TOWARD TEACHING

Taboos. The teacher is surrounded by taboos. Modes of behavior that are acceptable even among leaders of society are frowned upon when used by the teacher. The young woman must dress in the conservative styles that the mothers of her pupils would never wear. In a community that accepts a reasonable use of cosmetics and of tobacco, the teacher is nevertheless supposed to set an example of abstinence. Every attempt on the teacher's part to satisfy the needs and the wishes

of her personality is frowned upon if it goes counter to the standards of even a small part of the community. The teacher is not expected to be interested in politics, and she must see experiments in social reform and in economic change without expressing an opinion, lest she alienate the support of some of the citizens.

The habit of smoking, for example, is not essential to emotional health, but the right to smoke if one cares to is. Provided that the teacher does not go to ridiculous or unjustifiable extremes, her personal habits should be determined by herself and not by meddlers. The community has the right to regulate the official life of its teachers, but it has no right to interfere with their personal life when that has no direct or indirect effects in school. The teacher should not be asked to sacrifice her privileges as a citizen.

The easiest way to obtain freedom of personal action is to live in a community other than that in which one teaches. The development of modern methods of transportation make this possible even in rural sections. There is, of course, the danger that the teacher will not be acquainted with the special needs of the students and may not know the environment from which they come. These inadequacies can be remedied, however, without compelling the teacher to live in a show-case for twenty-four hours a day.

A more effective method is to have educators, as a group, convince first themselves and then the community of their privileges as individuals. Through their professional associations they must insist that teachers be assured of their individualities. They must come to the assistance of the single teacher who is being treated unjustly. As long as teachers are ready to surrender their individualities meekly, there will be communities to demand the sacrifice.

The Teacher's Salary and Tenure. The teacher's salary should be sufficient to enable her to maintain a satisfactory standard of living without working outside the classroom.

Though the teacher is a servant of the community, the citizenry must be taught that the teacher's salary is not a gift, the size to be determined by the government's generosity. People generally make little distinction between the money paid to a teacher and that paid to a political appointee who may not be particularly well qualified for the position. School systems get as good teachers as they pay for. The teacher must not be humiliated by the taxpayer's constant reminder that it is he who is supporting her position.

Educators are too modest of their achievements. Contemporary social standards virtually compel the school to publicize its attainments. Radio talks, newspaper feature articles, school exhibits, Open School Week, Parent-Teacher Associations, and civic societies are all available for the unpleasant, but necessary, task of advertising the attainment of modern educators and their schools.

Permanent tenure is an important factor in the teacher's feeling of security. The teacher who must spend her time trying to impress the appointing authorities with the wisdom of reëngaging her or in trying to secure another position cannot enjoy the peace of mind essential for good teaching. A teacher must have the reassurance that so long as she does her duty conscientiously she will be unaffected by changes in the municipal administration or in the superintendent's office. Permanent tenure does not require the retention of the incompetent; legal means of removing such teachers are always available. It should mean, however, that the teacher is free to give her thoughts and energy to her students, knowing that only demonstrated incompetence or some other serious dereliction will be considered grounds for removal, and then only after she has been afforded the opportunity of presenting her side of the case.

Selection by Merit, not by Need. The community must be educated to select its teachers solely on the grounds of merit. When a member of the family is seriously ill, we consult the

best physician we can afford, not the one with the greatest number of dependents. A similar standard should be applied when teachers are engaged. Whether a teacher be married or single, a resident of the community or of another, whether she be wealthy or poor, are all irrelevant considerations. Economic depressions accelerate the tendency to engage teachers on the basis of their financial needs. Though the community cannot ignore the claims of the destitute, it is unwise to staff the schools with inferior teachers. It is degrading for the teacher to plead for her position on grounds of poverty. It is demoralizing when she realizes that she has been engaged or retained for reasons other than her own abilities. For the teacher's self-respect, for the school's efficiency, and for the community's welfare, teachers should be selected and promoted on merit.

Problems for Study and Discussion

1. Mr. P. is a competent, conscientious teacher of physics and chemistry in a small high school. He is sensitive to criticism and is certain that his colleagues and the principal do not appreciate his excellence. Because of this teacher's many years of service and general superiority in mastery of both content and methodology, the principal, a much younger man, avoids saying anything that may hurt Mr. P.'s feelings.

One day, Mr. P. accused one of his pupils of loafing during the laboratory periods and of cheating on a classroom quiz. When the boy indignantly protested his innocence, with unnecessary aggressiveness and too little tact, he was warned that the teacher intended to ask for the boy's expulsion from school.

The student then brought his father to the principal, whose investigation soon disclosed that there was little justification for the teacher's outburst.

How far should the principal go in defending Mr. P.'s actions?

2. While observing a high-school history lesson, the principal heard the teacher give an entirely erroneous account of the Boston Tea Party. After listening for a few minutes, the principal interrupted the teacher tactfully and spoke of the way in which recent historical research indicated that the teacher's explanation was inadequate. The principal then proceeded to make the necessary corrections.

a. Do you approve of the principal's actions?

b. If you do not approve, what alternative do you propose?

3. Mr. B. is a junior at a teacher-training institution His intelligence ratings place him in the highest 5 per cent of the general population and his scholastic standing is appropriately high. However, his personality traits suggest that he ought not to become a teacher. He is exceedingly sensitive to slights, has few friends because he is tactless in his dealings with others, is generally depressed, and is easily led to threaten suicide. (When he was fifteen years old, he did make one attempt at suicide.) In class, he is ordinarily reserved except when his answer is criticized by the instructor or by the other members of the class. Then he defends his reply so aggressively that he becomes almost abusive.

What should be done with him in view of the fact that he has already completed two years of work at the college? How can it be done?

4. In one community, teachers are not permitted to join any political organization This is done in order to keep political influence out of the schools. Thus teachers may vote at elections, but they may not be members of any political or civic organization

All told, do you approve of the rule set up by this community?

5. How can the principal reduce the excessive amount of time which his conscientious teachers spend in doing clerical work and in preparing for class?

6. What sort of investigation can we conduct in order to determine whether the nature of the teacher's work offers any special menaces to her emotional adjustment?

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INDEX

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